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Wiley Heyes



Robert Snow.

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C B



Facing Title Page



K. EDWARD IV.

G. Vertue del.

T H E
H I S T O R Y
O F
E N G L A N D,
A S W E L L
Ecclesiastical as Civil.

B Y
M^r. D E R A P I N T H O Y R A S.

V O L. VI.

C O N T A I N I N G

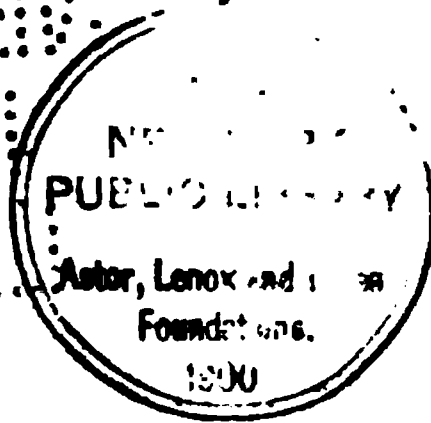
- I. The Reigns of the Three Kings of the House of *York*, EDWARD IV. EDWARD V. RICHARD III. and of HENRY VII. who joined the Two Houses by his Marriage with *Elizabeth* Heiress of the House of *York*.
 - II. The STATE of the CHURCH during the Fifteenth Century.
-

Done into *ENGLISH* from the *FRENCH*, with large and useful NOTES mark'd with an *, by
N. TINDAL, A. M. Vicar of Great-Waltham in Essex.

Illustrated with the Heads of the KINGS, &c. Curiously Engrav'd on COPPER-PLATES.

LONDON: Printed for JAMES and JOHN KNAPTON,
at the Crown in St. Paul's Church-Yard. 1728.

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TO THE
GENTLEMEN
OF THE
English FACTORY at *LISBON*.

SIRS,



HIS *Translation*, the Fruits of my leisure Hours whilst at *Lisbon*, comes into the World very seasonably to give me an Opportunity of making a publick Acknowledgement for the many Favours and Civilities I lately received at your Hands, during the five Months I had the Satisfaction to officiate, (in the Absence of your Chaplain, the Reverend Mr. *Sims*) to the largest and noblest *Factory* in the World, as well as the most beneficial to the *English* Nation.

Were I to display the great Advantages of that most valuable Branch of our Trade which passes through your Hands, or dwell upon your *real* Worth and good Qualities, as in Addresses of this Nature, most do upon their *feigned* ones of their *Patrons*, this *Dedication* would swell beyond all Bounds, and have no Proportion to the following Sheets. I forbear therefore to launch out into so spacious a Field, contenting my self with the bare mention of two of your Virtues, SOBRIETY and GENEROSITY, which

D E D I C A T I O N.

you possess in so eminent a Manner as to be a Pattern and Example to all your Countrymen. Drinking to excess is a Vice hardly known among you, which I am afraid can scarce be affirmed of so large a Society of *Englishmen* any where in the World besides. Your *constant Charity* to the Unfortunate, whereof I saw many Instances, and your *handsome Returns* for the least *Services* done you, which I my self experienced, loudly proclaim your *Generous Spirit*.

And here were I to enumerate the Obligations I owe to particular Persons, as well as to all in General, it would be an endless Task. But however Gratitude will not suffer me to conclude without thanking in a more especial Manner for his extraordinary Favours, *Arthur Stert Esq*; whose *Worth* and Readiness to do good to all his Fellow-Creatures, the most amiable Quality in the World ! are so well known, that the *Burrough* of *Plymouth* upon no other Consideration, (to their Honour be it remembered) have unanimously chosen him for their *Representative in Parliament*, almost without his Knowledge. A Case very uncommon now-a-days !

That you may All be Happy and Prosperous in carrying on a *Trade* so advantagious and necessary to *England*, and that you may, as many as desire it, return in good Time with Reputation and Riches to your native Country, and there enjoy the Fruits of your Labours with long Life, Health and Peace, is the sincere and hearty Wish of,

Great-Waltham
in Essex, September 10th, 1728.

S I R S,

Your most obliged

humble Servant,

N I C H O L A S T I N D A L.



THE HISTORY of *ENGLAND*.

BOOK XIII.

The Reigns of the three Kings of the House of York, EDWARD IV, EDWARD V, and RICHARD III. Containing the Space of Twenty-four Years and a Half.

SECT. I.

16. EDWARD IV.



EDWARD was proclaimed the 5th of *March*, and on the 12th or 13th of the same Month he saw himself obliged to go and put himself at the Head of his Army. Before his Departure from *London*, a *Tradesman* was executed for saying he would make his Son Prince of *Wales*. Apparently he added something more in Contempt of the new King, and expressed too much Zeal for the *House of Lancaster* *. Be

1461.
Edward goes to Fight the Queen.
An Execution upon a flight Account.

VOL. VI.

A

that

* It was one *Walker* a *Grocer*, who said he would make his Son Heir of the *Crown*, meaning only, as is pretended, his own House, which had the Sign of the *Crown*.

1461.

that as it will, some have looked upon this Man's Execution, in the beginning of this Reign, as a Presage of the Blood which would be yet spilt in the Quarrel of the two contending Houses.

*The
Queen's
Army is
much in-
creased.*

Queen *Margaret* had acted with Prudence in not hazarding a Battle at the Gates of *London*, and retiring among the northern People, who had appeared hitherto firmly attached to the *House of Lancaster*. They even gave her upon this Occasion an evident Mark of their Affection, by strengthening her Army with Recruits, nay, whole Bodies of fresh Troops. This was done with such Expedition, that in a few Days the Queen saw herself at the Head of sixty Thousand Men, in Condition to expect her Enemy, or even to march against him.

*Edward
resolves to
fight the
Queen.*

Though *Edward* had been proclaimed at *London*, he was very sensible that did not add much to his Right, considering the irregular Manner wherein it was done. The Great Men of his Party, and the People of *London* were not invested with Power to put a Sovereign upon the Kingdom. And therefore he could not depend upon that extraordinary Election, unless it was backed with Force. *Henry VI* had reigned Thirty-eight Years, acknowledged for lawful King by all the *English*; and yet a Right which seemed so well established, had not been able to bear it self up against a superior Strength. It was therefore easy to see that *Edward's* Right, which had not greater Advantages, would subsist no longer than it should be crowned with Success. Matters standing thus, there was a Necessity that the two Parties should once more try the Way of Arms. Happy would it have been for both, if one single Battle could have decided this bloody Quarrel! *Edward* being young and full of Life, trusted to his Courage and Fortune. He was likewise egged on to hazard all by the Great Men of his Party, who having but so little regard for *Henry*, saw there was no safety for them but in Victory. He sat out therefore from *London* a few Days after his being proclaimed, and heading

heading his Army marched towards the *North*, with a Resolution to go in quest of *Margaret*. 1461.

As soon as he was come to *Pontfraſt*, he detached the Lord *Fitz-Walter* to ſecure the Paſſage at *Ferribridge* upon the River *Aire*, which he was obliged to paſs in order to come at his Enemies. *Fitz-Walter* ſucceeded as the King would have it, and went and poſted himſelf on the other Side of the River with his Detachment. In the mean Time *Henry* and the Queen who were at *York*, having notice that *Edward* was marching with all ſpeed, readily concluded that it was to give them Battle. This was what they themſelves earneſtly wiſhed for, ſince the gaining a Victory was the only means left to reſtore them. They made therefore the Duke of *Somerſet* General of their Army, and ſtayed themſelves at *York* waiting the Iſſue of a Battle which would determine their Fate.

*He ſecures
a Paſs.
Biondi.
Habbing-
ton.*

The Duke of *Somerſet* being informed that *Edward* had already ſecured the Paſſage at *Ferribridge*, made no queſtion but that it was with Deſign to fight, and therefore to oblige him to do it at a Diſadvantage, he reſolved to diſlodge *Fitz-Walter*, that he might have the River between him and his Enemy. Purſuant to this Reſolution, the Lord *Clifford* was detached to go and recover the Poſt that *Fitz-Walter* had ſeized. Whether *Fitz-Walter* was guilty of any Neglect, or whether he was not ſupported ſoon enough, he could not withſtand *Clifford's* Charge, who drove his Troops over the River with great Slaughter. *Fitz-Walter* and the *Baſſard* of *Salisbury* were ſlain in the Action.

*His Men
beat from
thence.*

The Earl of *Warwick*, of whom I have had frequent occaſion to ſpeak towards the End of the late Reign, was looked upon as the Life and Soul of *Edward's* Army. The King was conſidered as a young Prince of great Valour but no Experience, and the Earl of *Warwick* was the real General. So that every one's Eyes were fixed upon him to ſee by his Looks whether there was reaſon to hope or fear. The News of *Fitz-Walter's* Deſeat being brought the Earl, he ſeemed to be under a great Conſternation, dreading that this firſt Check

*The Earl of
Warwick
is alarmed
as is.*

1461. would dishearten the Army. He immediately rid full speed to inform the King of it, with a Concern which plainly discovered how apprehensive he was of the Consequences. But at the same Time, to show that his Fears related not to his own Person, he stabbed his Horse, and kissing the Hilt of his Sword which was made in the Form of a Cross, swore that though the whole Army should take to Flight, he would stand alone in Defence of the King's Cause.

The King's
Steadiness.

Edward perceiving the concern the Earl was under, judged it necessary to prevent the ill Effects it might produce among the Troops. Accordingly, far from being alarmed at the News, he made Proclamation that all who had a Mind might depart: That he would reward those that should do their Duty: But that they who should fly during the Battle were to expect no Favour. At the same Time he detached *William Nevil* Lord *Falconbridge* to go and pass the *Aire* at *Castleford* about three Miles from *Ferribridge*, with Orders to attack those who guarded the Post lately lost. *Falconbridge* executed his Orders with so much Secrecy and Expedition, that he had passed the River at *Castleford*, before the Enemies had the least Notice of it. Then marching along the River he met *Clifford* at the Head of a Body of Horse, briskly charged him, and put him to rout. *Clifford* was slain with an Arrow in the beginning of the Fight, too light a Punishment for his inhumane Usage of the young Earl of *Rutland* Brother of *Edward*, at the Battle of *Wakefield*. With him was killed likewise the Brother of the Earl of *Westmoreland*. The Post at *Ferribridge* being thus luckily recovered, *Edward* who kept in a readiness, passed his Army over the River, and immediately marched in quest of his Enemies,

He recovers the
Passage.

The Battle
of Tow-
ton.

The two Armies met on *Palm-Sunday* between *Saxton* and *Towton**, where they drew up in Order of Battle. *Henry's* Army was sixty Thousand strong, and *Edward's* about forty Thousand. The Air was darkened

* A small Village in Yorkshire.

ened by the Snow which fell very thick, and which the Wind blew in the Faces of the *Lancastrians*. These last began the Fight with a Volley of Arrows, which being let fly too far off did no great Execution *. *Falconbridge* who commanded the Van of *Edward's* Army, disdain- ing to fight at such a Distance, ordered his Men to lay by their Bows and take to their Swords. Whereupon the Armies coming up close to one another began a furious Fight, wherein both Sides behaved with equal Bravery, and seemed bent to do their utmost to carry the Day. It would be a difficult Matter to describe this Battle at large, the greatest Part of those that have spoken of it, not understanding any Thing of the Art of War, have given a very confused Idea of it, instead of representing the several Circumstances of it. Besides, the two Armies are to be considered as trusting more to their Courage than the Experience of their Generals. It will suffice to observe that the Battle lasted from Morning to Night, and from thence one may judge how obstinately it was fought on both Sides. *Edward* signalized himself by an uncommon Valour, which did not a little contribute to the keeping his Troops in their Resolution of conquering or losing their Lives for his sake. At length the *Lancastrians* began towards the Evening to give Ground; not flying but maintaining a running Fight, and making a stand now and then, in such manner that their Enemies could not be altogether sure of the Victory. However this Advantage having encouraged *Edward's* Soldiers to exert themselves afresh, they pressed their Enemies so hard, that at length they forced them to take to their Heels. Then it was that a terrible Slaughter ensued. *Edward* had made Proclamation in his Army before the Fight, that no Quarter should be given, well knowing

*Edward
wins the
Victory.*

* The Reason of this was, *Falconbridge* finding the Enemy was blinded by the Snow, ordered his Men to shoot a Volley of *Flight-Arrows* (provided on Purpose) and then draw back. The *Lancastrians* feeling the Arrows, and thinking their Enemies were nearer then they were, shot all their Arrows, which fell short 60 Yards, and sticking in the Ground did them hurt when they came to close Fight.

1461.

ing that the taking of Prisoners would but weaken his Army. The flying Troops shaped their Course towards *Tadcaster-Bridge*; but despairing of being able to reach that Place, their Enemies being close at their Heels, they turned aside in order to pass the *Cock* which runs into the *Wberf*. But this was done with such Confusion and Hurry, that the River was immediately full of those that were drowned, who in their Misfortune served for a Bridge to their Companions. The Slaughter is said to be so great in this Place, that the Waters of the *Wberf* were all died with the Blood.

Number of
slain.

And indeed it is not to be wondered at, since the Historians affirm that no less than thirty-six Thousand seven Hundred and seventy-six were killed in the Battle. Among the Dead were found the Earls of *Northumberland* and *Westmoreland**, the Lords *Dacres* and *Wells*, Sir *John Nevil* and *Andrew Trollop*. The Dukes of *Somerset* and *Exeter* had the good luck to escape. *Thomas Courtney* Earl of *Devonshire* was taken. His Life was spared at first, notwithstanding the King's Orders, but it was only in order to put him to a more inglorious Death on the Scaffold.

The Earl of
Devon-
shire taken
and be-
headed.

Biond.

An *Italian* Author*, who wrote the History of these Civil Wars, makes this Remark on the Battle of *Towton*: That if *France* or *Scotland* had then invaded *England*, there is no question but the Kingdom would have been subdued, in the weak Condition it was in after the Loss of so much Blood. This might have been the Case, and the Example of *France*, which in much the same Circumstances was almost entirely conquered by *Henry V*, gives Weight to this Reflection. But however, the Battles which were fought before the Quarrel between the two Houses was decided, show that there was

* *Ralph Nevil* Earl of *Westmoreland* was not in this Battle, neither did he die till 2 *Rich.* 3. but it was Sir *John Nevil* his Brother, whose Son *Ralph* succeeded his Uncle. *Dugdale*.

*† Sir *Francis Biondi* of the Bed-Chamber to King *Charles I*, writ an elegant History of our old Civil Wars, which was translated into *English* by the Earl of *Monmouth*. Folio 2 Volumes, *London*, 1641, 1646.

was still a deal of *English* Blood to be spilt before it was possible to give *England* its Death's Wound. 1461.

After this signal Victory, *Edward* marched directly to *York*, it may be in hopes of finding *Henry* and *Margaret* there. But as after the Loss of the Battle they could not expect to be safe at *York*, they chose to retire to *Berwick*, and from thence fled for Refuge to *Edinburgh*. Upon his Arrival at *York* *Edward* ordered the Heads of the Duke his Father, and the Earl of *Salisbury* to be taken down, and those of the Earl of *Devonshire* and some others, whom he had beheaded at *Pontfract*, to be put up in their room. He stayed some time at *York*, to take Measures for the Defence of the Borders, in case the *Scots* should take it in their Heads to make an Incurſion. But as he was very sensible, that suppoſing they should have ſuch a Deſign, they were in no readineſs to execute it, he believed he should run no great Risk in returning to *London*, where he arrived the 8th of *June*. *Edward takes down his Father's Head from the Walls of York;*
and returns to London;

All appearing quiet in *England* ſince the Victory of *Towton*, *Edward* would defer no longer his Coronation, which was fixed to the 20th of *June*. Whilst the Preparations were making, he was thinking how to manage with regard to *Scotland*, from whence he foreſaw the fugitive King and Queen might obtain Aſſiſtance. With this view, he ſought the Means to cut out Work for the *Scots*, which should hinder them from meddling with their Neighbours Affairs. To this he was likewise ſpurred on by the Sollicitations of the Earl of *Dowglaſs*, who had taken Refuge in *England* ſeveral Years ſince. But for the better Underſtanding how Matters then ſtood between *England* and *Scotland*, it will be neceſſary to give a brief Account of the Poſture of Affairs in that Kingdom. *and prepares for his Coronation.*
He guards againſt Scotland.

Scotland had been for ſome time rent with dangerous Factions, which began with the Reign of *James II.* That Prince not being above ſeven Years old when the King his Father was murdered, *Archibald Douglaſs* claimed the Regency. But the *States* not thinking proper to truſt ſo potent a Perſon with the Adminiſtration of *Affairs of Scotland.*
Buchanan.

1461.

of Affairs, made *Alexander Leviston* Regent, and *William Crichton* Chancellor. These two *Barons* immediately formed two Parties, which would have divided all *Scotland*, if the Earl of *Douglass* had not had a Third which equalled the other Two. The Earl dying about two Years after; *William* his Son succeeded him, who still more haughty and impetuous than his Father, raised great Disturbances in this Kingdom. Sworn Enemy of the Regent and Chancellor, he showed in all his Proceedings that he was labouring to work them both out; in order to raise himself upon their Ruins. This obliged them, for their own sakes, to join against their common Enemy. Some time after, they found means to get him to be present at the Assembly of the *States*, upon the Assurance of a *Safe-Conduct*, which hindered them not from causing his Head to be struck off. *Beatrice* his Daughter inherited his Estate, and *James* his Brother his Title. But *James* died two Years after, leaving *William* his Son Head of that powerful Family.

William fell not short of his Predecessors in Pride and Ambition. He knew so well how to gain the Confidence of the young King, who began to look into his Affairs, that he became his prime Minister and Favourite. As soon as he saw his Credit sufficiently established, he attacked the two Heads of the opposite Factions, and constrained *Leviston* to withdraw from Court. He met with stronger Opposition from *Crichton*. But however, he abused his Power to such a Degree, and acted in so arbitrary a Manner, that he put People to Death, not only by his own Authority, but even contrary to the King's Pleasure. In fine, *James II.* blinded by his Fondness for the Earl, was not contented with overlooking all his Excesses: but moreover, made him his Lieutenant-General of the whole Kingdom. In an appearance, this high Promotion inspired the Earl of *Douglass* with too ambitious Thoughts. Without saying any thing to the King, he took a Journey to *England*, where it was known that he conferred in private with *Henry VI's* Ministers. This Procedure gave his Enemies; what they had long been waiting for, an Opportunity

tunity to make him lose the King's Favour. They filled the King's Head with so many Suspicions and Fears, that in order to hinder the Earl from executing his pretended Designs, he turned him out of all his Places, not daring perhaps to attempt to punish him in a more rigorous Manner. At the same time he gave the Administration of Affairs to the Earl of *the Orcades*, mortal Enemy of *Douglass*, and restored the *Seals* to *William Crichton*.

The Earl vexed to the Heart to see his Enemies triumph, formed a League against them, and brought the Kingdom to the very Brink of Destruction. In fine, he committed so many Acts of Outrage and Violence, that the King justly provoked with him, resolved to get rid of a Subject which created him so much Uneasiness. But as he was sensible he could not openly compass his Ends, he had recourse to Policy. By means of some of his Friends, he put him in hopes of being restored to Favour upon the same Foot he was before. Then sending for him to Court, upon a *Safe-Conduct* signed with his own Hand, he carried him alone into his Closet, and there plunged a Dagger into his Breast. This Deed, violent and irregular as it was, was approved of by the *States*, who at the same time declared *James*, Brother and Heir of the deceased, with the rest of his Brothers, Enemies of their Country.

James, the new Earl of *Douglass*, thinking of nothing but how to revenge his Brother's Death, and support the Credit of his Family, rais'd a Civil War in the Kingdom. During which, the King having laid Siege to one of his Places, *Douglass* was preparing to relieve it, when on a sudden he saw himself forsaken by all his Friends, and forced to fly for Refuge into *England*. Some time after he entered the County of *Annandale* with some Troops, and being defeated, was once more oblig'd to fly his Country. *George* Earl of *Ormond* *, one of his Brothers, was taken and beheaded.

* This must be some Mistake, *James Butler* Earl of *Wiltshire* was Earl of *Ormond*. *Buchanan* gives him no Title, and says, *Archibald* Earl of *Murray* another Brother was slain on the Spot.

1461.

These Misfortunes were not capable of daunting the Courage of the rebellious Earl. He found means to gain the Earl of *Ross* Lord of *the Isles*, *Donald* his Brother*, and the rest of that Family, and to persuade them to take up Arms against the King. Then they entered together the County of *March*, and ravaged it from one End to the other. But just as *Douglafs* was preparing to pursue his Progress, the Earl of *Ross* repenting his Fault, deserted him, and went and cast himself upon the King's Mercy. The King gave him hopes of a Pardon, on Condition he would deserve it by his Services. *Douglafs* unwilling to follow his Example, once more retired into *England*.

These Commotions being appeased by the Earl of *Ross*'s Submission, and *Douglafs*'s Retreat. *James II.* at the Instance of the Duke of *York*, went and besieged *Roxburreugh*. The Earl of *Ross*, willing to deserve the Pardon the King had made him hope for, came and offered his Service with a Body of chosen Troops. *James* was unfortunately killed at this Siege, as was related before, and left *James III.* his Son about seven Years old for his Successor.

The Death of *James II.* and the tender Years of the new King, inspired the Earl of *Douglafs* with fresh Hopes. But as he could not then expect any Assistance from *England* by reason of the *Civil War* which raged in that Kingdom, he was fain to stay till the Posture of Affairs should be changed. He fancied the favourable Opportunity he expected was at length come, after *Edward's* Victory at *Towton*. Wherefore applying himself to that Prince, who seemed to be firmly settled in the Throne, he gave him to understand that by the Help of his Friends in *Scotland*, it would be very easy for the *English* to conquer that Kingdom. *Edward* had no mind at all to undertake so difficult a Task in his present Circumstances. However to find the *Scots* Employment, and hinder them from assisting *Henry*, he embraced the Opportunity offered him by the Earl of *Douglafs*,

* *Donald* Lord of the *Isles*, and the Earl of *Ross* were the same Person according to *Buchanan*, p. 341.

Douglafs, in hopes of kindling a Civil War in *Scotland*. And therefore, *Douglafs* having assured him that the Earl of *Rofs*, *Donald* his Brother, and the Son of *Donald*, were disposed to rise against the King of *Scotland*, he gave him full Power to go and treat with them.

1461.
Act. Pub.
XI. 474.

Whilst *Douglafs* was managing Matters with the Earl of *Rofs*, *Edward* was crowned at *Westminster* with the usual Solemnities.

Edward
crowned.

Though Queen *Margaret* was out of the Kingdom, yet she gave the new King great Uneasiness. He was justly apprehensive that the Succours of the *Scots* would enable her to make a fresh Attempt upon his Crown.

He proposes
a Truce
with Scot-
land,
ibid.

Wherefore, with a view to obstruct her Designs, he proposed a Truce to the Regents of *Scotland*. That Kingdom was then divided into two Parties which were formed on the Score of the Regency. *Mary de Gelders*, Mother of the King, was at the Head of the First, and the Earl of *Angus* of the Second. They both laid claim to the Regency: but the *States*, to disoblige neither, had nominated two Regents of each Party, and petitioned the Queen to be contented with the Care of her Children's Education. Thus the two Factions still subsisted, because it was not possible to satisfy both. The Affairs of *Scotland* standing thus, when *Edward* proposed a Truce, the Regents resolved to agree to it, and sent Ambassadors to him for that Purpose. But Queen *Margaret*, who was then at *Edinburgh*, perceiving how prejudicial the Truce would be to her, found means to break *Edward's* Measures, by surrendering *Berwick* to the *Scots*, and concluding a Marriage between Prince *Edward* her Son, and *Margaret* Sister of King *James*. Whereupon the Treaty about a Truce was entirely broke off.

475. 477.

Margaret
prevents it.

Whilst *Margaret* was taken up in gaining the *Scots* to her Side, *Edward* called a Parliament at *Westminster*, to get the *Revolution* ratified, which had placed him on the Throne. It is easy to conceive, that at such a Juncture, the Parliament needed not much Sollicitation to confirm what had been done hitherto in favour of *Edward*. How irregular soever his Election might be,

The Parlia-
ment con-
firms Ed-
ward's
Election.

1461.

he was victorious; that was enough to hinder any Person from venturing to dispute his Right. It is evident from several former Instances that the Parliaments of *England* had never departed from that wholesome Principle of *siding with the strongest*; and what we shall see in the Sequel of this very Reign will farther confirm it. Pursuant to this Rule, the Parliament approved of *Edward's* Coronation, ratified his Title, and repealed all the *Acts* made in the late Reign against *the House of York*. *Henry VI.* after a Thirty-eight Years Reign, was deemed an Usurper, and all he had done whilst he sat on the Throne was annulled, as wanting a lawful Authority, and as being no longer in Force, but as it should be confirmed by the new Parliament. Thus did they abuse the People's Credulity, and make them believe, that what had been just and valid for sixty Years together, was become unjust by a contingent Accident, I mean by *Edward's* Victory at *Towton*.

All the Acts
against the
House of
York are
repealed.

Creating of
divers
Peers.
Act. Pub.
XI. 476.

During this Session of Parliament, the King created *George*, the eldest of his Brothers, *Duke of Clarence*, and *Richard* his younger Brother, *Duke of Gloucester*. The Lord *Falconbridge* was made *Earl of Kent*. *Henry Bourchier* the King's Uncle by the Mother's Side, * was honoured with the Title of *Earl of Essex*, and *John Nevil* Brother of the *Earl of Warwick* was made Lord *Mountague*.

The Earl of
Oxford and
his Son be-
headed.

Though the *Earl of Devonshire* and some others had been beheaded at *York*, these Victims seemed not sufficient to atone for the Blood of the Friends of *the House of York*, which the Queen had caused to be shed on the Scaffold. To the King's Policy, Fears or Resentment, were likewise to be sacrificed *John de Vere* *Earl of Oxford*, and *Aubrey* his eldest Son, who were publicly beheaded *.

After

* He married *Isabella* the King's Aunt, Sister to the late Duke of *York*, the King's Father.

* And also Sir *Thomas Tiddingham* Knight, *William Tyrrel* and *Walter Montgomery* Esquires. The Dukes of *Exeter* and *Somerset*, with 140 more were attainted. This *John de Vere* is said to have disputed in a former Parliament the Question about the Precedency of *Temporal* and *Spiritual* Barons, (a bold Attempt in those Days) and by his Arguments carried it for the Lords *Temporal*.

After *Edward* had thus settled Matters at home, he turned his Thoughts to Affairs abroad. The Kingdom was actually in War with *France*, *Scotland*, *Bretagne*, and the *Low-Countries*. He had whereof to be afraid from all these Quarters. If these *States* had all joined against him, it would have been very difficult for *Edward* to withstand their Forces, considering the Circumstances he was in, and the little Dependence he could have upon the Assistance of his Subjects. Luckily for him, *France* had a new King who never once thought of conquering *England*. I mean *Lewis XI.* whose Mind was taken up in projecting how to become absolute in his own Kingdom, and pull down the great Men, among whom the Dukes of *Burgundy* and *Bretagne* were the Principal. It is true, his Designs had not yet broke out into Action. But what he was brooding in his Mind was more than enough to hinder him from renewing the War with the *English*. The Duke of *Bretagne* did not care to stir all alone in carrying on against *England* a War, which could not but be very detrimental to him upon all Accounts. As for the Duke of *Burgundy*, the same Reasons which had made him desirous of a Truce with *England*, were still of force. Besides, he saw plainly that it was against his Interest to unite with *France* and *Bretagne* in order to weaken *England*, much less to stand alone the Brunt of a War, which could not but be very destructive to the Trade of his Subjects. Indeed his Inclination carried him to stand by *the House of Lancaster* rather than by that of *York*, on the Score of his Marriage with *Isabella* of *Portugal*, a near Relation of *Henry VI.* But Reasons taken from the Inclinations of Princes do not always prevail above those of Politicks. The Duke of *Burgundy* was perfectly well acquainted with the Character of *Lewis XI.* and consequently he plainly saw that it was his Business to be upon his Guard against him, instead of endeavouring to render him more powerful by the weakening of *England*. Wherefore, contenting himself with wishing well to *the House of Lancaster*, without giving any Assistance to *Henry*, he judged

1461.
Disposition
of foreign
Princes
with regard
to England.

Of the King
of France :

Of the
Duke of
Bretagne,
and Bur-
gundy.

1461. judged it best to live in Friendship with *Edward IV.* whom he saw pretty firmly settled in the Throne, without any likelihood of his being pulled down. With this view he sent Ambassadors to congratulate him upon his Accession to the Crown, and at the same time to demand Satisfaction for certain Outrages committed by the *English* contrary to the Truce. *Edward* gladly answered the Advances made him by the Duke of *Burgundy*, and forthwith appointed Commissioners to inquire into the Breaches of the Truce complained of by that Prince. His Affairs would not allow him to act with Haughtiness towards any of the Princes his Neighbours, especially towards the Duke of *Burgundy*, who was very potent and allied to *the House of Lancaster*.

A&P. Pub.
XI. 478.

There was only *Scotland* left which could give the King any Uneasiness. He knew that *Margaret* had yielded *Berwick* to the *Scots*, and contracted the Prince her Son with King *James's* Sister. He could not therefore question but she expected the Assistance of that Kingdom. Mean while, the Queen having settled her Matters in *Scotland*, had left there the King her Husband, and the Prince their Son, and was gone to *France*. The Design of this Journey was to demand Succours of *Lewis XI.* But he was not of a Humour to engage in any Enterprize, which he saw he could not be a great Gainer by. However, as she was his near Relation, he put her in hopes of some Assistance. But as he had a mind not to treat entirely with *Edward*, he was contented with making Proclamation that all the Friends of *the House of Lancaster* should be well received in his Dominions, and that the Adherents of *the House of York* should not be admitted.

1462.
Edward's
Treaty with
the Earl of
Ross.

Edward did not doubt in the least but *Margaret* would contrive some fresh Attempt. Her Voyage to *France*, and especially the Alliance she had lately made with the King of *Scotland*, fully convinced him of it. Wherefore, judging it would be in vain to try to break her Measures by a Truce with *Scotland*, to which the *Scots* daily started fresh Obstacles, he resolved to renew his Negotiation with the Earl of *Ross*. In all appear-
ance

ance the Earl of *Douglafs* had prepared that Lord already to take up Arms: Nothing was wanting but to settle the Terms. To conclude this Affair, which *Edward* hoped would turn to his Advantage, he empowered the Bishop of *Durham*, the Earl of *Worcester*, and others, to make in his Name a Treaty with the Earl of *Ross*, which was done accordingly. The Substance whereof was as follows:

1462.

Act. Pub.
XI. 483,
484.

That *John* Earl of *Ross*, Lord of *the Isles* *, *Donald Balagh* his Brother, and *John* of *the Isles*, Son of *Donald*, should do Homage to King *Edward*.

That they should never acknowledge any other King of *England* but *Edward*, or his Successors descended from *Lionel* Duke of *Clarence*.

That they should be always ready to serve him in all his Wars with *Scotland*, or with the *Scots* in *Ireland*.

That in time of Peace the Earl of *Ross* should have a Pension of a Hundred Pound *Sterling* a Year, *Donald* one of Forty, and *John* his Son one of Ten Pound: and that these Pensions should be doubled in time of War, during actual Service.

That in case *Scotland* should be conquered by the Arms of *Edward*, and with their Assistance, the King should invest them with all the *Isles* lying beyond the Sea of *Scotland*, to be equally divided among them.

That *James* Earl of *Douglafs* should likewise be invested with all the Lands he had formerly held in the Kingdom of *Scotland*, from the North-Sea to *England*.

Lastly, That *Edward* should make neither Peace nor Truce with the King of *Scotland*, without including them if they desired it. As

* The *Western Isles* called by the Inhabitants *Inch Gall*, by a Writer of the last Age, *Hebrides*: by the Antients, *Beteorica*, *Inchades*, *Leucades*, *Habudes*, commonly thought to be Forty-four in Number, but are really more. Amongst them is *Jona*, which *Bede* calls *Hy* or *Hu*, given to the *Scottish* Monks by the *Picts*, for preaching the Gospel amongst them. Here stands a Monastery famous for the Burial of the Kings of *Scotland*. The Inhabitants of these *Isles* speak the *Irish* Language, and retain the Customs, &c. of the antient *Scots*, as the *High-landers* do. They are enjoyed at present by the *Mac Connells*, who derive themselves from this *Donald*, who took the Title of King of *the Isles*, and ravaged *Scotland* in a cruel Manner.

1462.

As no *English* or *Scotch* Historian has mentioned this Treaty, in all likelihood it lay concealed among the *Records of England* till it was inserted in the *Collection of Publick Acts*. Indeed it was of little Moment since it was not enacted. *Edward* had too much Business upon his Hands to think of the Conquest of *Scotland*; his only view was to make use of the Earls of *Douglafs* and *Ross* to raise Disturbances in that Kingdom. But apparently the Earl of *Douglafs*'s Measures were not well laid, since the History of *Scotland* speaks of no Insurrection about this Time.

The rest of the Year 1462 was quiet enough, the Storm which was gathering not being ready yet to burst forth.

Pius II.

congratulates Edward.

Act. Pub. XI. 489.

Pope *Pius II* believing *Edward* sufficiently established in the Throne, writ him a Letter to congratulate him upon his coming to the Crown, in Answer to one sent him by the King to notify him of it. The Pope expressed himself in such a Manner, that it appeared he reserved the Power of retracting what he had said, if there was Occasion, since his Approbation was grounded only upon the Proofs *Edward* himself had given him of his Title, whereby he made it conditional.

The Duke of *Exeter* who had married *Edward*'s Sister, having followed *Henry* into *Scotland*, the King gave the confiscation of his Estate to his Dutches, who had chosen rather to stay with the King her Brother, than follow the Fortune of her Husband.

The Lord *Falconbridge*, a zealous Friend of the *House of York*, who was created in Parliament Earl of *Kent*, was made High Admiral of *England* about the End of this Year.

The Duke of Somerset submits.

All being quiet in the Kingdom, and no appearance of any fresh Attempt upon *Edward*, the Duke of *Somerset*, and *Ralph Percy*, Brother of the Earl of *Northumberland* came and threw themselves upon the King's Mercy, who generously gave them a Pardon.

Historians assure us that in the Course of this Year the *English* Fleet made an Attempt upon the Coasts of *Bretagne* and the Isle of *Ree*, which neither the *French*

nor

nor the *Bretons* say a Word of. And indeed it is hard to conceive what should induce *Edward* to renew the War, at a Juncture wherein he should have thought himself very happy in being let alone. It even appears from the *Collection of Publick Acts*, that he was not without Fear of an Insurrection of the *Lancastrians*. At least one cannot well ascribe to any Thing else, the Precaution he took to gain the *Clergy* to his Interests, by granting them a Favour which none of his Predecessors had ever done willingly. And that was, that for the future all *Ecclesiastical* Persons indicted for any Crime, should be tried in the *Ecclesiastical Court*, without the King's Judges having any Thing to do in the Matter upon any Account whatever. By this same *Charter* he screened the *Clergy* from the Penalties of the *Statutes of Provisors* and *Præmunire* passed in the 16th Year of *Richard II.* He pretended that he was induced to this Concession from his great Zeal for the *Church*, his Dread of the *Excommunications* decreed by the *Holy Canons*, and his Belief that all the Calamities which inflicted *England* some Time since, were the just Judgments of God for the little Regard which had been paid to his *Ministers*. But it is extremely probable, that he was swayed by quite another Motive in breaking through so many *Statutes* which the Parliaments had deemed necessary to give a Check to the Growth of the *Clergy's* Power.

*The King's
Concession
to the
Clergy.
Act. Pub.
XI. 493.*

About the End of this Year the Truce of Commerce between *England* and the Duke of *Burgundy's* Dominions was prolonged for some Time.

*ibid:
p. 497.*

In the mean while *Edward* hearing that Preparations were privately carrying on in *Scotland*, and that in all likelihood it was against him, called upon the Earl of *Ross* to perform his Promise, and to that End appointed Commissioners who had Orders to receive his Oath. But the Earl, who had his Spies in *England*, not seeing that *Edward* was preparing in good earnest to back him, thought not proper to begin, for fear of being left in the Lurch.

*Edward
calls upon
the Earl of
Ross to
perform his
Promise.
p. 499.*

1463.
Queen
Margaret
arrives in
the North
of England;
Biondi.
Habing.

and is for-
ced to fly
to Ber-
wick.

The King
sends Mon-
tague into
the North.
ibid.
500, 501.

Henry and
Margaret
re-enter
England.

Montague
defeats a
Detach-
ment of
their Army.

It was not without Ground that *Edward* dreaded a Storm from the *North*. Presently after, *Queen Margaret* having obtained of the King of *France* an Aid of five Thousand Men, with the Promise of a greater, embarked in order to make a Descent in *England*. As she was in hopes that the Inhabitants of the *northern* Counties would take up Arms in her Favour, she went and landed at the Mouth of the *Tine*. But she found there a Body of *English* Troops, who forced her to re-embark with Precipitation. A few Hours after, her Ship being separated from the rest of the Fleet by a Storm, it was not without great Difficulty that having entered the *Tweed* she at last got a shore at *Berwick*. The rest of the Ships were driven towards *Bamburgh*, where the *French* would fain have landed. But the Bastard *Ogle*, who was in those Parts, having hindered their landing, they retired to the little Isle of *Lindisfarn*, the Weather not permitting them to put to Sea. Thither *Ogle* followed them, and falling upon them slew part of them, and took four Hundred Prisoners. Their Leader was the only Person that found means to escape to *Berwick* in a Fisher-boat.

Edward being informed of this, plainly perceived that *Margaret* was sure of the Assistance of the *Scots*, and that it would not be long before she marched into *England*. His Apprehensions of this putting him upon seriously attending to his Affairs, he dispatched the Lord *Montague* with what Troops were ready, whilst he himself forwarded a great Amament he was making by Sea and Land, to go and oppose his Enemy.

Montague having began his March, heard upon the Road that the Queen was entered *Northumberland* at the Head of an Army which daily increased by reason of the great License she allowed her Soldiers in. He went on however as far as *Durham*, where he halted some Time in Expectation of a Reinforcement which the King was sending him. These Supplies being arrived, he continued his March, and meeting a Detachment of the Enemies Army commanded by the Lords *Hungerford* and *Ross*, attacked and put them to rout.

Ralph

Ralph Percy who was on *Henry's* Side though he had taken the Oath to *Edward*, was slain in this Action. The Duke of *Somerset* having made no more Conscience than *Percy* of breaking his Oath, was likewise gone to join the Queen. 1463.

Montague flushed with this Success, marched forth- with to *Hexham* where *Henry* lay intrenched, and attacking him in his *Lines* without giving him Time to look about him, gained a compleat Victory. The Duke of *Somerset*, *Ross*, and *Hungerford* were taken Prisoners ; but *Henry*, *Margaret*, and the Prince their Son fled into *Scotland*. The Prisoners were not suffered to languish long. Some Days after the Duke of *Somerset* was beheaded at *Hexham*, *Ross* and *Hungerford* elsewhere, and Twenty Officers of Distinction at *York*. Many others who had concealed themselves in several Places, being discovered or given up to the Conqueror, were likewise sacrificed to his Vengeance.

After this Victory *Edward*, who had advanced as far as *Durham*, sent the Earl of *Warwick* farther towards the *North* to recover some Places the Queen had taken, after which he marched back to *London*. The Earl of *Warwick* having nothing to fear after the Victory his Brother had just gained, divided his Army into three Bodies, and laid Siege at once to *Bamburgh*, *Dunstanburgh*, and *Alnwick*. The two first of these Places were carried with ease, and the commanding Officers punished. *Alnwick*, where a *Frenchman* commanded with some Troops of his Nation, held out till the Earl of *Angus* came to its Relief with a Body of *Scotch* Troops. But the Earl could do nothing more than draw out the Garrison, apparently by means of a Treaty with the Besiegers, though *Buchanan* represents the Matter quite otherwise.

Edward being come to *London* ordered two Patents to be drawn up under the *Great Seal* to reward the Lord *Montague* and *William Herbert*, with the Honours he conferred upon them. The first had done him a great Service in the two Victories he had lately gained. The other had all along distinguished himself by an extraordinary

He attacks
Henry's
Camp and
puts him to
route.

Biondi,
Habing. ;

Henry
escapes ;
Somerset
is beheaded.

Edward
returns to
London,
and leaves
the Earl of
Warwick
in the
North.

Montague
is created
Marquis,
and Her-
bert Earl
of Pem-
broke.
Biondi.

1463.

traordinary Zeal for the *House of York*. Wherefore being pleased to give them both Marks of his Gratitude, he created the former *Earl of Northumberland*, and the latter *Earl of Pembroke*; *Henry Percy*, and *Jasper Tudor*, who bore these Titles having forfeited them by adhering to King *Henry*. But *Percy* having afterwards submitted to the King, and obtained his Pardon, *Montague* was willing to resign to him the Title of *Earl of Northumberland*, and to have that of *Marquiss of Montague*. As to the Title of *Earl of Pembroke*, care must be taken not to confound the two Lords that bore it, namely, *Jasper Tudor* Half-Brother of *Henry VI*, and *William Herbert* who was in *Edward's* Service.

Preparations are making in France against Edward. He sends for the Earl of Warwick.

A Truce with the French, Act. Pub. XI. 507. and Duke of Burgundy,

and with Scotland. P. 510.

Whilst *Edward* was enjoying the Tranquillity which his late Victory had procured him, he received Intelligence that Preparations were making in *France* to support the Interests of *Henry* and *Margaret*. Whereupon he resolved to send for the Earl of *Warwick*, and to leave the Marquiss of *Montague* in the North, with a Patent of Governour of the northern Marches, and a Power to levy what Troops he should think necessary. He did not question but it was from that Quarter that his Enemies had resolved to exert their utmost, by reason of the neighbourhood of *Scotland*. These Precautions, joined to his late Victory, apparently cooled the Ardour of the *French* and *Scots*. Soon after the *Scots* demanded a *Safe-Conduct* for Ambassadors they intended to send to him. At the same Time *Lewis XI* set a Treaty on Foot with him, by the Mediation of the Duke of *Burgundy*. This Truce was actually concluded at *St. Omer* to the 15th of *November* 1464, upon Condition that neither of the two Kings should assist the Enemies of the other. The Duke of *Burgundy* agreed likewise to renew for one Year, the Truce of Commerce between *England* and the *Low-Countries*.

After *Edward* had thus screened himself from *France*, he concluded with *Scotland* a Truce for a Year, which the Archbishop of *St. Andrews* had negotiated at *London* in the Name of the Regents. Having therefore nothing to fear from his Neighbours, at least for one Year,

Year, he saw himself at leisure to take Measures to support himself in the Throne in case of another Attack.

1463.

Mean while the unfortunate *Henry*, deserted by the King of *France*, the King of *Scotland*, and the Duke of *Burgundy*, who alone were able to assist him, saw himself without any Refuge. He was still at *Edinburgh*, but not without Uneasiness. Besides, that the Truce lately concluded between the *English* and *Scots*, tied up the Hands of these last from giving him any Assistance, it is very likely that upon concluding the Truce with *Scotland*, *Edward* had stipulated that his Enemy should not be suffered to remain any longer in that Kingdom.

Henry and Margaret, in great Perplexity.

It even appears by the *Collection of Publick Acts*, that before the Truce was signed, the two Kings of *England* and *Scotland* had agreed upon certain secret Articles which could relate to none but the unfortunate fugitive King. Be this as it will, *Henry* not knowing where to go,

p. 508.

preposterously imagined he should be able to lie concealed in *England*. It may be he flattered himself that the Inhabitants of the northern Counties would rise in his Favour. But unhappy Princes seldom meet with faithful Friends. At least it may be presumed that fearing to be delivered up by the *Scots*, and having no Opportunity to escape by Sea, he hoped he should find a safe Retreat at some Friend's House in *England* till an Opportunity should offer of going into *France*.

Henry fancies he could lye concealed in England.

Whatever his Designs might be, he had no sooner set Foot in *England* but he was known, seized *, conducted to *London* in an ignominious Manner, and confined in the *Tower*. Some affirm that he was taken last Year at the Battle of *Hexham*, or at least a few Days after. But it appears by some of the *Collection of Publick Acts*, that in *October* that Year he was not yet in *Edward's* Power. It is therefore more probable that he was taken as I have said, in endeavouring to hide himself in *England*, after he had made some stay in *Scotland*. An Adventure which befell *Margaret*, and is related by *Monstrelet*, makes it thought that she had likewise resolved to conceal

He is taken and carried to London.

Adventure of Queen Margaret. Monstrelet

* At *Waddington-Hall* in *Lancashire* whilst he was at Dinner.

1463.

She retires
to her Fa-
ther.
The Duke of
Somerset;
and Exeter
withdraw
to Flan-
ders, where
they live
wretchedly.

ceal herself in *England*, in order to have an Opportunity to imbarck, not daring to trust the *Scots* any longer, and that the better to accomplish her Design, she had parted from the King her Husband. *Monstrelet* says, *Margaret* being in *England* with the Prince her Son, attended with *La Verenne* a *French* Lord, fell into the Hands of some Robbers who would have killed her, if a sudden Quarrel had not arose amongst them, which afforded her an Opportunity to escape into a Wood with the Prince. He adds, that afterwards she found Means to imbarck for *Sluice* in *Flanders* where the Duke of *Burgundy* gave her an honourable Reception. If this Adventure be true, it could not happen but at the Time I am now speaking of. However that be, after she had quitted *Scotland* she retired to *René* of *Anjou* her Father, with the Prince her Son. *Edmund* the new Duke of *Somerset*, Brother of him beheaded at *Hexham*, and the Duke of *Exeter*, fled for Refuge into the *Low-Countries*, where however they durst not make themselves known for fear of being given up to *Edward*. They endured in *Flanders* all that a wretched Exile attended with extreme Want was capable of bringing upon Persons of their Character. *Philip de Comines* says, he saw the Duke of *Exeter* before he was known, following barefoot the Duke of *Burgundy's* Equipage, and serving apparently as a Footman for his Livelihood. But these two Lords being at length known, the Duke gave them a mean Pension for their Subsistence; not daring without doubt to carry his Generosity any farther, for fear of offending *Edward*. These are strange Turns for a King who had sat Thirty-eight Years on a Throne, for a Queen who had for many Years together governed *England* with an absolute Sway, for a Prince destined by his Birth to wear a Crown, for Lords related or allied to the Royal Family, who had always been seen in the highest and most important Stations. These Kinds of Instances of the Vicissitude of worldly Grandeur make sometimes but little Impression at the very Time they are seen, because those who are concerned are generally induced to ascribe

ascribe their Misfortunes to the Malice of their Enemies. But such as read them impartially in History, can they forbear reflecting upon them, and acknowledging the Hand of Divine Providence in them?

Edward having King *Henry* in his Power, and Queen *Margaret* being gone to the Duke her Father, there was no Body appeared that could raise Commotions in the Kingdom. Then it was that after having in vain offered a Pardon to all the Friends of the *House of Lancaster* that would come and make their Submission and swear Allegiance by such a Time, he confiscated their Estates, and liberally bestowed them upon those that had served him. Then willing to gain the Affections of his Subjects after giving them convincing Proofs of his Severity, he made himself extremely Popular, even to such a Degree that the *Italian* Author spoken of before, taxes him with running into Excess upon that Score.

1464.
Edward gives his Friends the Estates of the Rebels.

He makes himself very Popular.

During this Calm, which seemed as if it would continue long, the King's chief Counsellors pressed him to think of marrying, that he might leave the Crown to his Heirs. He took their Advice, and three Matches were proposed. The first was *Margaret* Sister of the King of *Scotland*. But besides that this Princess was betrothed already to *Henry's* Son, she was so young that it would have been a great while before the Marriage could have been consummated. The second Match was *Isabella of Castile*, who was afterwards married to *Ferdinand of Arragon*. The *English* Writers say, she was rejected by reason of her being too young. And yet it is certain she was then thirteen Years old. *Bona of Savoy*, Sister of the Queen of *France* was the third. *Edward* was resolved to have her, and shortly after sent the Earl of *Warwick* to demand her in Marriage. She was then at the Court of *France* with the Queen her Sister. It is Time now to speak of the Affairs of *France* by reason of their Connexion with those of *England*. Otherwise the Reader would not understand, as I may say, but by halves, what passed in *England* in the Reign of *Edward IV*.

He demands in Marriage Bona of Savoy, Lewis's Sister.

The Earl of Warwick; sent upon that Account to France.

1464.
State of
Affairs in
France.

Mezerai.

Contests be-
tween the
Kings of
France,
and the
Dukes of
Bretagne,
Argentre.

Lewis XI, a Prince of a turbulent and restless Spirit, was no sooner seated in the Throne of *France*, but he formed the Design of becoming absolute. This is what some Flatterers have called *rendering himself Free*, but what a famous Historian says ought rather to be termed, *running Mad*. To bring about this grand Design, there was a Necessity in the first Place of humbling the overgrown Power of the *Peers*, among whom the Dukes of *Burgundy* and *Bretagne* were the most considerable. They not only upheld one another, but were likewise a support to the rest. The first held *Burgundy* and *Flanders*, the only two antient *Lay-Peerdoms* which remained to be united to the Crown. This Duke, who was moreover Sovereign of almost all the *Low-Countries*, was so powerful, that it would have been imprudent to begin with attacking him. Wherefore *Lewis* resolved to enter upon the Execution of his Projects by falling upon the Duke of *Bretagne* first. An old Quarrel about *Homage* afforded him a Handle to begin. Ever since *Peter* surnamed *Maucelere*, had done Homage to St. *Lewis*, the Nature of that Homage had been a continual Subject of Disputes between the Kings of *France* and the Dukes of *Bretagne*. The Kings pretended it was *Liege* or *Full*, and the Dukes affirmed, it was not. This was a very important Question, by reason of the great Difference between *bare Homage*, and *Homage-Liege*. The former was paid by those who without being naturally dependent on a Prince, did him *Homage* however upon other Accounts, as for his Protection, for his Assistance when wanted, or even for a Pension only. The *Collection of Publick Acts* contain fundry Homages of this Kind paid to the Kings of *England* by the Sovereign Princes of *Germany* and of the *Low-Countries*, and by the Earls of *Savoy*. But *Homage-Liege* was paid by those that held Lands dismembered from the Dominions of the Prince to whom it was paid; such were the *Dukedoms* and *Peerdoms* of *France*. As these two sorts of *Homage* were of a different Nature, they were likewise performed in a different Manner. The Person that did *Homage-Liege* was

uncovered

uncovered, on his Knees, ungirded, without Sword or Spurs ; he held his Hands together within those of the Sovereign, and swore Fealty to him. But *simple Homage* was paid standing, with the Sword and Spurs on, and without taking an Oath. *Liege-Homage* therefore was for Lands dismembered from the Crown, and denoted that the Lands were liable to Confiscation, and to be united again to the Prince's *Demesn.* But *simple-Homage* was personal, upon certain Conditions advantageous to the *Vassal* : So that the Default of *Homage* deprived him only of the Benefit of the Conditions. And therefore the obliging the Duke of *Bretagne* to do *Liege-Homage* would have been putting him under a Necessity to own that his Dukedom was liable to Confiscation, and to be re-annexed to the Crown of *France*. To avoid this Inconveniency, the Dukes of *Bretagne* had found out the Expedient of doing their *Homage* in general Terms, in like manner as their Predecessors had done it ; whether the Rights of the Kings of *France*, with regard to the Nature of the *Homage*, could not be fully made out, or whether the Circumstances of Affairs obliged them to keep fair with the Dukes of *Bretagne*, it is certain they received for a long while their Homage in that Manner. It is true, that after the Homage was done, the *Chancellor* or *Higb-Chamberlain* said aloud, that the Homage was *Leige* ; to which the Duke replied, that it was not, and thus the Pretensions of each remained entire. *Charles V* plainly showed he supposed the Homage to be *Liege*, since he got the Dukedom of *Bretagne* to be confiscated and annexed to his Crown, by a Decree of the Court of *Peers*. A Peace being concluded between *France* and *Bretagne* in the beginning of the Reign of *Charles VI*, the Duke of *Bretagne* was restored to his Dukedom, without any thing being done about determining the Nature of the Homage, the Pretensions of both Parties still subsisting. *Arthur III*, who had been Constable of *France*, being become Duke of *Bretagne*, solemnly declared in doing Homage to *Charles VII*, that he meant not to do *Liege-Homage*, and was allowed to pay it in general

1464. Terms, like his Predecessors. *Francis II.* his Successor made the same Declaration, and *Charles VII.* received his Homage, though without approving his Protestation.

Lewis XI. attacks the Duke of Bretagne, who forms a League against him. Argentre. Matters stood thus between *France* and *Bretagne*, when *Lewis XI.* came to the Crown. In all likelihood *Lewis* would have been no harder to please than *Charles* his Father, in the Point of the Duke of *Bretagne's* Homage, had he not, as has been said, determined to begin with him, in his grand Project of humbling all those that might stand in his Way to arbitrary Power. He had taken this Resolution the Moment he was seated in the Throne, and it may be before the Death of the King his Father; but it was not till 1464. that he was pleased to enter upon the Execution of it. To that End, having first ordered some Troops into *Anjou*, he sent the Chancellor *de Morvilliers* to the Duke of *Bretagne*, to forbid him in his Name to assume any Right of Sovereignty in his Dukedom. *Francis II.* finding himself ill provided for his Defence, had recourse to Artifice, and demanded three Months time to consult his States. This Term being granted him, he made use of it to cabal in *France* among the great Men, and to form against *Lewis* a powerful League, called *the League of the publick Good*, of which there will be mention presently.

Negotiations between Edward and Lewis XI.

It was at the very time *Lewis* was thinking of attacking the Duke of *Bretagne*, that *Edward* sent the Earl of *Warwick* to demand *Bona of Savoy* his Sister-in-law in Marriage. This Proposal could not but be very acceptable to him, since he desired nothing more ardently than to make an Alliance with the King of *England*, in order to prevent him from concerning himself in the Quarrels he was quickly to have with the great Men of his Kingdom. But before the Conclusion of the Marriage, he was willing to be sure of reaping the Benefit he expected from it. To that End, he caused the Business of the Marriage to be spun out a little, whilst he ordered to be negotiated at *London*, and did negotiate himself with the Earl of *Warwick*, a personal Friendship

ship between him and *Edward*. This appears by the *Collection of Publick Acts*, where we find several Things relating to this Negotiation. We see there a full Power given by *Edward* to the Earl of *Warwick* to treat about a final Peace, an Alliance, or a Truce with *Lewis XI.* and another to conclude a Treaty of Amity and Friendship between the two Kings. The Designs of *Lewis* went further still. With a View to deprive the Duke of *Bretagne* of all Protection, he would have got the Duke of *Burgundy* into the Alliance he intended to make with *England*. Upon which account it was that he agreed with *Edward* and *Philip* upon having a Congress of Ambassadors at *Hesdin*, which was afterwards removed to *St. Omer*. He managed his Matters at *London* by the Lord *Lanoy* Governor of *Amiens*, whom he had sent thither towards the End of the last Year. But all these Negotiations ended in nothing but the Conclusion of a Truce at Sea, of the same length with that which had been before made for the Land.

1464.
Act. Pub.
XI. 515,
518.

P. 521.

P. 512.

Whilst these things were in Agitation at *London* and *Paris*, *Edward* concluded with *Scotland* a fifteen Years Truce. *John Kennet*, a Lord of great Abilities, and very zealous for his King and Country, thought he could not, during the Regency, do a greater Service to both, than to keep a good Understanding with the *Englisch*. Otherwise it was next to impossible to preserve Tranquillity in *Scotland*, because, during the War, the Male-Contents of *Scotland* always relied upon the Protection of *England*.

Edward makes a Truce with Scotland,
p. 514 —
515.

This Affair being over, *Edward* offered to all that had taken Arms against him an absolute Pardon, excepting only *Ralph Grey*, and *Humphry Nevil*. *Grey* having been taken in *Banborough*, where he commanded for *Henry*, had been degraded. Apparently he had done something since, which caused him to be excepted in the Pardon the King granted to the rest. Shortly after the King issued out a *Proclamation*, commanding all his Subjects from sixteen to sixty Years of Age to take up Arms. But Historians make no mention of this Armament, or of what could be the Occasion of it.

He grants a Pardon to Henry's Friends.

1464.
He con-
cludes a
Peace with
Bretagne.
A& Pub.
XI. 531,
532.

In *August* this Year *Edward* received Ambassadors from the Duke of *Bretagne*, who came to treat about a Truce. As the Duke found himself then hard pressed by the King of *France*, and as he was labouring to form the League of the publick Good, he was very glad to secure himself from the Side of *England*. He obtained from *Edward* a Truce for one Year, which was signed the 1st of *October*.

About the same time the See of *York* becoming vacant, *George Nevil*, Brother of the Earl of *Warwick*, was promoted to it by the King's Recommendation.

1465.
The Earl of
Warwick
concludes
the King's
Marriage
with Bona
of Savoy.

In the mean while, the Earl of *Warwick*, who was still at the Court of *France*, having pressed *Lewis* upon the main Business of his Embassy, the Marriage of *Edward* with *Bona of Savoy* was at length made and concluded. Presently after *Lewis* appointed the Earl of *Dammartin* for his Ambassador to *Edward*, to go and settle with him what remained farther to be done in that Matter. But *Love* overturned all these Projects. What I am going to relate is not a *Romance*, but a true Story, which shows how great a Share that Passion has sometimes in the most important Revolutions: for this Affair was attended with great Consequences.

Edward
falls in love
with *Eliza-
beth*
Woodville.

Whilst the Earl of *Warwick* was hastning in *France* with all his Power the Conclusion of the Negotiation committed to his Charge, *Edward* rendered it of no Effect in *England* by mere Chance. Happening to be in *Northamptonshire* near the Manor of *Grafton*, he had a mind to go and visit *Jaquelina* of *Luxemburg*, Dutches of *Bedford*, who had espoused in second Marriage Sir *Richard Woodville*. By him she had among other Children a Daughter called *Elizabeth*, who had been Wife to Sir *John Grey*, [of *Grobby*] and upon his Death was returned to her Father's House. She had the Affliction to see her Husband's Estate confiscated, on account of his adhering to the *Lancastrian* Interest, in the Service of which he had lost his Life. The King's Visit appearing to this young Lady to be a favourable Opportunity, she came and threw herself at his Feet, beseeching him to restore the Lands of her deceased Husband, and in-
treating

treating him to have pity upon her Children. *Edward*, who was young and exceeding amorous, no sooner beheld the charming Widow at his Feet, but he fell desperately in love with her. He immediately gave her hopes, as he raised her from the Ground, that he would grant her Request. He even let her know, that it was not in his Power to refuse her any thing. Afterwards, in his private Conversation with her, he would fain have persuaded her to purchase the Favour at a very high Rate. All the Historians agree, that he was the best made Man in *England*, and the most proper to win the Affections of the fair Sex. As he knew this, he did not question but he should find the same easy Access to this Lady's Heart, as he had found to those of many others. But she plainly gave him to understand, that although she thought her self unworthy to be a Queen, she had too honest a Heart to take up with the Title of Mistress. This Declaration, which denoted so much Virtue in *Elizabeth*, made so deep an Impression on the King's Mind, that despairing of being able to attain his Ends any other way, he offered her Marriage. The Tender of such a Heart as *Edward's*, together with a Crown, could hardly be rejected. The young Lady, agreeably surprized at so advantageous a Proposal, accepted it immediately in so respectful and grateful a Manner, as completed the Conquest of the young Monarch's Heart. Mean while, as he was unwilling to disoblige the Dutches of *York* his Mother, he could not think of proceeding any farther without acquainting her with his Intention. The Dutches surprized at this hasty Resolution, used all her Endeavours to dissuade him from it. She represented to him the Injury he would do the Earl of *Warwick*, to whom he owed so many Obligations, and who, it was to be feared, would highly resent it: That by the Affront he was going to put upon the King of *France*, he would make him his mortal Enemy, and render a Peace between them impracticable: That the Nobles of *England* would behold with Grief and Jealousy the *Woodville* Family raised so high above them, and that their Discontent might be attended

1465. attended with fatal Consequences. In fine; that he was going to marry a Woman with nothing, his Subject, and one that had Children by another Man. *Edward* replied in a few Words, that it was uncertain whether the Earl of *Warwick* would look upon his Change as an Injury ; but that, as for him, he was sure of his Affection: That the King of *France* was like to have Business enough upon his Hands to divert him in all probability from all Thoughts of Revenge: That a King's taking to Wife one of his Subjects, would be so far from giving Offence to the Nobility, that on the contrary, it would be very pleasing to them, since for the future all the noble Families might aspire to the same Honour. Lastly, That a Dowry ought to be of no weight in a King's Marriage ; and that his Love and her Virtue whom he pitched upon for his Wife, made up to him whatever he might expect besides. The Dutcheſs perceiving that the King was not ſwayed by her Arguments, ſhe added another which to her ſeemed of much greater Force. She remonſtrated to him, that he had plighted his Faith to the Lady *Elizabeth Lucy*, and that he could not in Conſcience take another Wife. *Edward* poſitively denied that he was engaged to that Lady. Nevertheless, either for the Satisfaction of the Dutcheſs his Mother, or for fear this pretended Contract might one Day furniſh a Handle to diſpute the Validity of his Marriage, he conſented that *Elizabeth Lucy* ſhould be examined by ſome Biſhops. Upon her Examination, ſhe confeſſed that the King had not made her a poſitive Promise: but however, ſhe ſaid ſhe ſhould never have yielded to his Deſires, had ſhe not been perſuaded that he intended to marry her. This Answer making appear that there was no abſolute Promise on the King's Part, the Biſhops were of Opinion that the King might marry another with a ſafe Conſcience. Accordingly, *Edward* eſpouſed *Elizabeth Woodville* in the Preſence of a few Perſons, ſo that his Marriage was not divulged but by the Orders which were given to prepare for the Coronation of the new Queen.

*And mar-
ries her.
February.*

The Nobles and People were extremely surprized to see the King married to one of his Subjects, whilst he was treating about a Match at the Court of *France* with the Princess of *Savoy*, nay, when the Match was already concluded. Sir *Richard Woodville* the Queen's Father was forthwith raised to the Dignity of *Earl of Rivers*, and *Anthony Woodville* her Son, married to the only Daughter of the *Loufcales*, the greatest Heiress in the Kingdom. This stirred up the Jealousy of the Nobles, and especially of the Duke of *Clarence*, who could not forbear taking it very ill of the King his Brother that he had not thought of him, and helped him to so rich a Match. But this was nothing in Comparison of the Earl of *Warwick's* Indignation for having been thus made a Fool of. He thought the King should have had more regard for him than to use him in so dishonourable a Manner. In this Belief he expressed his Resentment to the King of *France*, who did not fail to inflame it to the utmost of his Power. *Lewis* himself could not but look upon *Edward's* Proceedings as a deadly Affront. But the Posture of his Affairs not permitting him to demand Satisfaction immediately, he concealed his Resentment till he should find a favourable Opportunity to show it. As to the Earl of *Warwick*, he left the Court of *France* in order to return to *England*, with a Heart full of Hatred and Revenge against *Edward*, whose Ingratitude he abhorred. He took care however to hide his Thoughts, because it was not yet a proper time to discover them. But his very hiding them, made the King perceive he was very much disgusted. Wherefore *Edward* began to look upon him as a secret Enemy, though he continued to show him some slight Marks of his Confidence. Thus the King and Earl disguising their real Sentiments, a mutual Hatred took root in their Breasts, which induced the King to give him several Occasions of Uneasiness, as well to gratify his Passion, as with a View to lessen the Earl's Credit with the People. As he could not imagine that he who had been able by his Interest to place him in the Throne, might likewise have it in his Power

1465.

The Nobles
jealous of
the Wood-
villes.The Q's
Father
made Earl
of Rivers,
and her
Brother
marries a
rich Heir-
ess.The King
and War-
wick begin
to hate one
another.

to

1465. to pull him down, he took no great Care to keep fair with him. *Warwick* plainly perceived the King's Aim: but he wisely took no notice of it; for fear an unseasonable Resentment might oblige *Edward* to take such Measures against him, as would put it out of his Power to be revenged. All the Historians unanimously agree, that presently after his Return from *France*, he retired into the Country on Pretence of his Health. But we find in *the Collection of Publick Acts*, that during the Years 1465 and 1466. he was at Court, and even employed in Negotiations of Importance with Ambassadors of foreign Princes. So that it was two Years first before he withdrew, when he could no longer bear to see himself entirely removed from Affairs, whilst the new Earl of *Rivers* wholly engrossed the King's Confidence to himself.

A& Pub.
XI. 540—
578.

The rest of the Year 1465 was spent in sundry Negotiations with the King of *France*, the Duke of *Burgundy*, the Earl of *Charolois*, and the Duke of *Bretagne*. As these several Negotiations concerned the Affairs of *France*, and as the Knowledge of the History of *England* in great Measure depends upon these Affairs, it will be necessary to give a brief Account how Matters stood then in *France*.

Affairs of
France.

Lewis XI. was one of the subtlest and least scrupulous Princes at that time in *Europe*. His Design was, as has been remarked, to ruin the Dukes of *Burgundy* and *Bretagne*, the former by Cunning, and the latter by open Force. I have already taken notice that with regard to the Duke of *Bretagne*, he had begun to put his Project in Execution, by drawing together an Army in *Anjou* ready to fall upon *Bretagne*, and which only waited till the Time granted the Duke was expired. As to the Duke of *Burgundy*, *Lewis* had not thought proper to proceed in the same Manner with him. He was too powerful a Prince for him to have any Prospect of succeeding by attacking him openly. But he made use of a secret Expedient, which helped him in Part to what he would not have been able but with great Difficulty to obtain by Force of Arms. He bribed t^h

Le . .

Lords of *Croy* and *Chimay*, Brothers, prime Ministers and Confidents of the Duke, who got their Master to give up to the Crown of *France*, the Towns lying on the *Somme*, for four Hundred Thousand Crowns, pursuant to the Treaty of *Arras*. *Charles* Earl of *Charolois*, only Son of the Duke of *Burgundy*, looked upon this Restitution as a mortal Blow to him and his *House*. He was of Opinion that the Duke his Father should at any Rate have kept those Places which rendered him more formidable to *France* than all the rest of his Dominions together. He was so angry with the *Ministers*, that he openly threatened to make them one Day suffer for the destructive Council they had given the Duke his Father. This Affair created between the Father and Son a Quarrel which the Favourites took Care to foment, so that in the End the Earl in great Discontent withdrew into *Holland*. He gave out that it was not safe for him to be any longer at Court; that the Favourites had advised the Duke his Father to apprehend him, and had even bribed People to poison him.

Whilst the Earl of *Charolois* was in *Holland*, *Lewis* XI sent thither privately the *Bastard of Rubempré*, in a Vessel fitted out at *Dieppe*, with some chosen Soldiers, who without knowing where they were going, had Orders to obey *Rubempré* in every Thing he commanded them. The *Bastard* being landed with four of these Soldiers, was known and discovered to the Earl of *Charolois*, who immediately caused him to be seized. Some say, that there was found about him an Order under the King's own Hand to apprehend the Earl and bring him away dead or alive. In the mean Time *Lewis* was upon the *Somme* with a considerable Army which he had drawn together upon some Pretence. He had appointed the Duke of *Burgundy* to come to him, on Purpose, as it was reported afterwards, to seize upon his Person as soon as he should hear of the Success of *Rubempré's* Plot. But the Earl of *Charolois* having sent speedy notice to the Duke his Father of what he had discovered, the Duke immediately rode away from

*Memoirs of
Comines.*

1465.

Hesdin, where he was already come. Thus, if it be true that *Lewis* had formed a Design to seize at once upon the Father and Son, his Projects miscarried. This wicked Attempt, whether it was only suspected, or whether there was any Proof of it, greatly increased the Hatred the Earl of *Charolois* had before entertained against *Lewis*. He proclaimed every where that the King of *France* had designed to have him assassinated or carried away by Force, and the Report immediately flew over all the Towns of the *Low-Countries*.

Lewis easily perceived that his Honour must needs lie at Stake in this Affair, especially if the *Bastard of Rubempré*, whose Tryal was getting ready in *Holland*, should come to be convicted of the Fact laid to his Charge. And therefore in order to hinder his being tried, he sent the Chancellor *de Morvilliers* with some other Ambassadors to the Duke of *Burgundy*, to require him to deliver up the Prisoners into his Hands. The Earl of *Charolois* being present at the *Audience*, the Chancellor spoke to the Duke in a very haughty Manner, and even dropped some offensive Words against the Earl his Son. The Earl would have frequently replied; but the Chancellor still interrupted him, with saying he was sent to the Duke his Father and not to him. The Duke of *Burgundy's* Answer was, that being Sovereign in *Holland* without any manner of Dependence on *France*, he would cause the Prisoner to be tried, and either punished or acquitted, according as he should be found Guilty or Innocent. When the Ambassadors of *France* took their Leave of the Duke, the Earl of *Charolois* took one of them aside and said these Words to him: *The King your Master has been very severe upon me by his Chancellor, but he shall repent it before a Year passes over his Head.* And indeed he was as good as his Word.

War of the
Publick
Good a-
gainst
Lewis XI.
Comin.
Agen.
Muzet.

This passed in the Year 1464, whilst the Duke of *Bretagne*, in order to defend himself against *Lewis*, was labouring to form the *League of the Publick Good* above-mentioned. The Earl of *Charolois* was one of the first that came into it, and had got leave of the Duke his Father

Father to raise Troops and join the Duke of *Bretagne*, with almost all the Great Men of *France*, who were to be near *Paris* in the Month of *June* 1465. As soon as the Duke of *Bretagne* saw himself sure of a powerful Assistance, he sent Ambassadors to the King, under colour of desiring a longer Time, but in reality to entice away the Duke of *Berry* his Brother. They succeeded so well that they brought the Duke along with them into *Bretagne*. As soon as he was out of the King's Power, the Confederates declared him Head of the League, and every one went and prepared in order to be at the Rendezvous. The Duke of *Bourbon* was the first that ventured to take up Arms, with Design to draw the King into his Country, and get him at a distance from *Paris*. *Lewis*, who had yet no Intelligence of the League, marched forthwith towards *Bourbonnois*. But quickly after he received Advice, that the Earl of *Charolois*, at the Head of a powerful Army was approaching *Paris*, and that the Duke of *Bretagne* with the rest of the Confederates were preparing to go and join him. Upon this News he immediately left *Bourbonnois*, in order to try to save his Metropolis. In the mean Time the Earl of *Charolois* attempted to become Master of it. But as he saw no Prospect of Success, he went and encamped at *Montlbery*, expecting the Dukes of *Berry* and *Bretagne*. Mean while the King who was advancing with great Marches, being come near *Montlbery*, the two Armies met and joined Battle. The Issue of it was so doubtful that both Sides claimed the Advantage. But as the King decamped in the Night in order to go and throw himself into *Paris*, he gave Occasion to his Enemies to say that he owned himself worsted. Some Days after the Dukes of *Berry* and *Bretagne* joined the *Burgundians*. But the King had already so well provided for the Defence of his Capital, that it was impossible for the Confederates to take it. At length the War ended in a Treaty signed at *Conflans* the 30th of *October*. *Lewis* restored to the Duke of *Burgundy* the Towns upon the *Somme*, for which he had paid four Hundred Thousand Crowns, and gave *Normandy* in

*It ends in
a Treaty.*

1465.

Lewis
seizes a-
gain upon
Norman-
dy.

Appennage to the Duke his Brother. After signing the Treaty, the Earl of *Charolois* retired into the *Low-Countries*, and the Duke of *Berry* in Company with the Duke of *Bretagne* went and took Possession of *Normandy*. But a few Days after, the Duke of *Bretagne* having quarrelled with the Duke of *Berry*, returned into his own Dominions. Then *Lewis* taking Advantage of their Dissensions marched without Loss of Time into *Normandy*, drove his Brother from thence, and put him under a Necessity of taking Refuge once more in *Bretagne*, where he was civilly received by the Duke, notwithstanding their preceeding Quarrel. These are all the Matters of Importance that passed in *France* in the Year 1465.

Negotiations of the
Duke of
Bretagne
and Earl of
Charolois
with Ed-
ward.
Act. Pub.
XI. 540---
542.
P. 547.

Whilst the *French* Princes had been taken up in Preparations for the War of the *Publick Good*, they had not neglected the King of *England*. We find in the *Collection of Publick Acts*, that from *March* to the Time they took the Field, the Duke of *Bretagne* and the Earl of *Charolois* had their Ambassadors at *London*, and that the Earl offered to make with *Edward* a Treaty of Alliance and Friendship. *Lewis XI* himself, though very angry with him, did not omit courting him. But *Edward* willing no doubt to have a little farther Knowledge of his Affairs, avoided on divers Pretences concluding any Thing with any of them.

Truce pro-
longed with
Scotland.

He did not proceed in the same manner with regard to the King of *Scotland*, with whom, after a long Negotiation he concluded at *Newcastle* a Treaty, whereby the late Truce was prolonged for Forty-five Years till 1510.

1466.
Birth of the
Princess E-
lizabeth.

In the Beginning of the Year 1466, the Queen was brought to Bed of a Princess, who was called *Elizabeth*, and became afterwards the happy Instrument to bring Peace to *England* after a long Civil War.

Edward
keeps fair
with the
King of
France,
and with
his En-
emies.

Edward having put a grievous Affront upon *Lewis XI*, considered him as a secret Enemy who would not let slip any Opportunity that offered to be revenged. He kept fair with him however during the War of the *Publick Good*, for fear of affording him a fresh Motive to

to countenance the *House of Lancaster*, in Case he got the better of the Confederate Princes. The same Reason had induced him to hearken to the Proposals of the Duke of *Berry* and *Bretagne*; but he had taken Care to conclude nothing either with them or the King of *France*. Afterwards *Lewis's* Disadvantage at the Treaty of *Couflans*, might have carried *Edward* to regard him less, had not the Revolution immediately after in *Normandy* caused him to act with Deliberation. In the mean Time he was equally pressed on both Sides. The King of *France*, making as if he minded not the Affront he had received, urged him to enter into a Treaty with him, for a final Peace between the two Crowns, or at least for a long Truce. On the other Hand, the Duke of *Burgundy*, the Earl of *Charolois*, and the Duke of *Bretagne* represented to him, that if he suffered the *French* Princes to be oppressed, the King of *France* would by that become so powerful as could not but prove fatal to *England*. The Course he took upon this Occasion, was to carry it fair with all, and keep both Sides in hopes. The Truth is, it was by no means his Interest to concern himself in their Quarrels, and thereby create to himself new Enemies at a Time when the *Lancastrian* Party, though humbled, were however still very numerous in *England*. This is the real Motive of his Conduct, and of all his Negotiations as well with the King of *France* as with the other Princes, who pressed him to declare his Intention. Mean while, to keep Matters still upon the same Foot, till he could see how Things would go, he concluded a short Truce with *France*, and the like with the Duke of *Bretagne*. In keeping fair with the King of *France* he had a farther Aim, to hasten the Conclusion of a Match which had been proposed to him, between *Margaret* his Sister and the Earl of *Charolois*. He was sensible that the less inclined he appeared to break with *Lewis XI*, the more eager would the Duke of *Burgundy* and the Earl his Son be for the Marriage. And indeed his Policy had all the Success he expected. These two Princes perceiving how difficult it was to

He makes
a Truce
with
France,
April 20.
and with
Bretagne,
Jun. 7.
Act. Pub.
XI. 567,
568.
Project of
the Mar-
riage of the
Earl of
Charolois,
with Ed-
ward's
Sister.
p. 564.

ingage

1465. ingage him in their Party, imagined there was no shorter way to attain their Ends than to effect the Marriage proposed. As soon as *Edward* saw them in this Temper, he entered into Engagements with them without delay. He loved not the King of *France*, because he knew very well that he was not beloved by him. Besides, he considered he could not rely upon that Prince's Word ; that the Steps he had taken upon his Account were not sincere, and that one Time or other he would show his Resentment. Moreover it was not for the Interest of *England* to suffer the Dukes of *Burgundy* and *Bretagne* to be crushed, which as it evidently appeared was *Lewis's* grand Design. Wherefore *October* the 21st. he signed a Treaty of personal Alliance, Amity and Friendship with the Earl of *Charolois*. A few Days after he sent a Safe-Conduct to *Lewis of Bruges* Lord of *Grutbuyse*, whom the Duke of *Burgundy* had appointed to go and treat with him, about a lasting Peace, and to finish the settling of the Articles of the Marriage of the Earl of *Charolois* with the Princess *Margaret*.

*Treaty with
the Earl of
Charolois.
p. 580.*

*The Duke of
Bretagne
is hard
pressed.
Comin.
Argen.*

*The Earl of
Charolois
cannot as-
sist him.*

All this looked as if it would end in a League between *Edward* and the Duke of *Burgundy*, for the Defence of the Duke of *Bretagne*, who saw himself hard pressed. Since the Duke of *Berry* had been driven out of *Normandy*, the Duke of *Bretagne* had undertaken to support him and cause the Treaty of *Conflans* to be put in Execution. This was projected by him and the Earl of *Charolois*, who had engaged to make a powerful Diversion in *Picardy*. But unluckily for the Duke of *Bretagne*, the Duke of *Burgundy* had undertaken against the *Liegeois* a War which hindered the Earl of *Charolois* from performing his Promise. Mean while *Lewis XI*, improving this Juncture, was extremely urgent with the Duke of *Bretagne*, who being in no Condition to stand against him alone, gave him hopes that he would comply with his Will. But this was only to gain Time, till the Duke of *Burgundy* should be ready. At length, the War with *Liege* being suspended by a Truce, the Earl of *Charolois* prepared to march

march into *Picardy*. But when he least expected it, *Lewis* by his secret Practices caused the *Liegeois* to take up Arms again. So that the Duke of *Bretagne* was put to great Straits. He made however the best Defence he could, in hopes of being quickly succoured. 1466.

Whilst these Things were doing in *France*, *Edward* concluded a Treaty of perpetual Alliance with the King of *Castile*. He had done the same with the King of *Denmark* in the Beginning of this Year. Though these Alliances were of little Moment with respect to his principal Affairs, they gained him however Reputation, and rendered him more formidable to his Enemies. Edward's Alliances with Castile and Denmark. A^ct. Pub. XI. 580, 583.

The first Part of the Year 1467 was wholly spent in divers Negotiations with *France* and the Duke of *Burgundy*. The Duke only waited for the End of the War with *Liege*, to give all his Forces to the Earl his Son, that he might by a powerful Diversion prevent the Ruin of the Duke of *Bretagne*, who having lost already the Places he had in *Lower-Normandy*, saw himself upon the Point of being attacked in his own Country. On the other Side, *Lewis* who spared no Cost to have good Spies, was informed of what passed between *Edward* and the Duke of *Burgundy*, and plainly perceived that their Union tended to the Defense of the Duke of *Bretagne*. As he had still in view the Project of ruining that Prince, he omitted nothing that could help to take off *Edward* from the Engagements he was beginning to enter into with his Enemies. With this view it was that in the Month of *February* 1467 he sent the Bastard of *Bourbon* into *England*, and in *June* the Archbishop of *Narbonne*. *Edward* pretending to be entirely disengaged, appointed immediately Commissioners to treat with these Ambassadors. But as it is no hard Matter to spin out the Time in these kinds of Negotiations, nothing was concluded. Mean while, *Lewis* was afraid to push home the Duke of *Bretagne* for fear of obliging *Edward* to declare for him. 1467. Negotiations with Lewis and the Duke of Burgundy. See A^ct. Pub. 1467.

Thus

1467.
Death of
the Duke of
Burgundy.
The Earl of
Charolois
succeeds
him.
Mezerai.
He refuses
to leave
the Duke of
Bretagne.

He ratifies
his Treaty
with Ed-
ward.
Act. Pub.
XI. 580.

The Duke of
Bretagne
contracts a
Truce.

The
Queen's
Relations
in great
Credit at
Court.
Biond.
Habing.

Thus stood Matters between those Princes, when the Duke of *Burgundy* died on the 15th of *July*, in the 72d Year of his Age. *Charles* Earl of *Charolois* his only Son, whom for the future I shall call Duke of *Burgundy*, succeeded him in all his Dominions. He would immediately have ran to the Assistance of the Duke of *Bretagne* if the War with *Liege* had not held him back. Mean while *Lewis* fearing that the Prey which he held as it were in his Hands, would slip from him, sent and offered the new Duke of *Burgundy* to desert the *Liegeois* whom he had hitherto assisted, provided he would in his Turn abandon the Duke of *Bretagne*. If *Charles* had closed with this Proposal, the Duke of *Bretagne* would have been lost beyond recovery, since there was already a *French* Army of thirty Thousand Men in the Heart of his Country. But he openly rejected it, declaring he would stand by the Duke of *Bretagne* to the utmost of his Power, let what would happen. He only waited for the End of the War with *Liege*, in order to throw himself into *Picardy*, and he did not question but *Edward* would declare against *France*, the Moment he saw himself sure of being so well backed. The very Day of the Duke his Father's Death, he had ratified his Alliance with *Edward*, and the new Bond which was going to unite them closer, namely, his Marriage, which was upon the Point of being concluded, seemed to promise him that he should never want the Assistance of *England* in Time of Need. Mean while the Duke of *Bretagne* fearing to be oppressed before Succours should arrive, put *Lewis* in hopes of all the Satisfaction he desired, and by that means obtained a Truce which gave him Time to Breathe.

Whilst these Things passed in *France*, considerable Alterations were made at the Court of *England*, which in the End occasioned great Troubles. The Queen's Relations daily increased in Favour with the King, and the Earl of *Warwick* with his Brothers, who had been so powerful, were hardly looked upon. The Archbishop of *York* was still *Chancellor*; but at length he

was

was turned out to make room for the Bishop of *Bath and Wells*, one of the Queen's most zealous Sticklers. The Earl of *Warwick* was no longer employed as before in Affairs of Moment. This manifestly appears by the *Collection of Publick Acts*, where his Name is not found after the middle of this Year. As for the Marquis of *Montague* his Brother, who was Governor of the *Northern Counties*, as that Post was of no great Consequence, since there was nothing to fear from the Side of *Scotland*, he was suffered to enjoy his Place. Besides, *Edward* had less Inclination to sowre him, because in the Decline of his Family's Credit he behaved more prudently than his Brothers. On the other Hand, the Earl of *Rivers*, Father of the Queen, was raised to the highest Degree of Favour. Besides the Office of *Treasurer*, which he had already, he was likewise made *Higb-Constable*, upon the voluntary or forced Resignation of the Earl of *Worcester*, whom the King requir'd, by making him his Lieutenant of *Ireland*, under the Duke of *Clarence*. Thus the Earl of *Rivers* held at the same Time two of the greatest Offices of the Crown; and moreover, *Anthony Woodville* his Son had the Reversion of the *Higb-Constableship*. Apparently it was about this time that the Earl of *Warwick* withdrew from Court, and that the Archbishop of *York* went and resided upon his Diocese.

1467.

Warwick and his Brothers neglected.

The Earl of Rivers is Treasurer and Higb-Constable.

The Earl of Warwick withdraws from Court.

It was very hard for a Man of the Earl of *Warwick's* Character to suffer such a Disgrace without Resentment. He was the haughtiest Lord that had ever been in *England*, and his natural Haughtiness was still encreased by the great Services he had done the King. The Affront the King had put upon him in marrying in *England* without his Knowledge, and at the very time he employed him at *Paris* to negotiate another Marriage which was even brought to a Conclusion, had extremely incensed him. The Contempt the King showed for him at his Return from *France*, in not making him some Excuse in that Matter, had very much increased his Disgust. To this was added an extreme Indignation to see his Credit entirely sunk. In fine, the Favours

He is extremely incensed against the King.

1467.

*He hides his
Resentment.*

*He goes and
makes
Lewis his
Friend.*

which the King shewred upon the Queen's Relations, raised his Envy to such a Degree, as that it hurried him to take the most violent Resolutions. If we may believe certain Historians, he had a stronger Reason to hate *Edward* than those I have mentioned. And that is, *Edward* had attempted the Chastity of one of his Daughters; and that Prince's Character, who made no great scruple to do such Things, gives ground to believe the Fact. Be that as it will, the Earl hated *Edward* mortally, though he concealed his Aversion in order to show it to the Purpose. It is certain, the King who knew him very well, made a very false Step in not giving him some Satisfaction, or in not ruining him entirely. With Persons of that Character, Policy requires that you take one or other of these two Courses. The Continuator of *Monstrelet* says, that in the Month of *June* 1467, the Earl of *Warwick* went to *Lewis* XI. at *Roan*, and staid with him twelve Days. If so, it may be presumed, that having been sent to *France* about the King's Affairs, he took that Opportunity to make sure of the Protection of *Lewis*, and to concert Measures with him touching the Execution of the Project he was forming to dethrone *Edward*.

1648.

*The Duke
of Burgun-
dy's Mar-
riage solemn-
ized.*

*A Truce of
Trade pro-
longed for
30 Years.
Act. Pub.
XI. 605.*

Mean while, the Negotiation of the Marriage of *Edward's* Sister with the Duke of *Burgundy* still went on, whilst *Edward* kept *Lewis* in hopes of concluding a lasting Peace with him. But it was only to amuse him, and to hasten at the same time the Marriage of the Princess his Sister. However, for fear the Embassy he had sent to *Paris* might give some Suspicion to the Duke of *Burgundy*, he issued out a *Proclamation*, expressly ordering the Coasts to be well-guarded, as soon as the Truce with *France*, which was to end in the Month of *March*, should be expired. Shortly after the Marriage was at length concluded, and *Margaret* sent to *Bruges* with a splendid Retinue, being attended by the Dutcheſs of *Exeter* and *Suffolk*. There it was that the Nuptials were solemnized with a Magnificence suitable to the Princes who were joined together by this Marriage. The same Day the Truce of Trade and Commerce

merce between *England* and the Duke of *Burgundy's* Dominions was prolonged for thirty Years. 1468.

The rest of the Winter was spent in treating about an Alliance between *Edward* and the Duke of *Bretagne*. The Duke of *Burgundy* strongly solicited the Conclusion of that Affair, because he found himself so incumbered with the War of *Liege*, that it was not possible for him to assist his Ally. The Business was not without Difficulties, since there was a Necessity of passing from a War of a long standing between *England* and *Bretagne*, to a strict Alliance. So that all that could be done at first was to prolong the Truce till the Month of *July*. After that *Edward* and the Duke of *Bretagne* sent one another *Letters Patent*, whereby they promised to assist one another to the utmost of their Power. The Duke of *Burgundy* sent the like to the King, with design to get him the sooner to declare against *France*. The Truth is, it was a great thing for him to hinder the Ruin of the Duke of *Bretagne*, and to procure the Duke of *Berry* a Settlement, which enabled him to keep the King his Brother in awe. He was well assured, that after *Lewis* should have put it out of the Power of these two Princes to hurt him, he would not fail to attack him with all his Forces. On the other Hand, *Edward* saw but too plainly how prejudicial *Lewis's* too great Power might be to him. Wherefore by his Order his Commissioners signed the 2d of *July* a Treaty of Commerce with *Bretagne*, and the next Day he commanded Troops to be levied for the Assistance of that Dukedom. In the Beginning of the Month of *August*, he sent Ambassadors to *France*, on pretence of treating with *Lewis* about a perpetual Peace, and yet two Days after he signed a Treaty, whereby he obliged himself to send the Duke of *Bretagne* an Aid of Three Thousand Archers. As the Duke saw himself pressed by the King of *France*, it was necessary to hasten that Affair as well on his own as on the Part of *Edward*, without standing too much upon Terms. The Fleet and Troops designed for *Bretagne* being ready in the Beginning of *October*,

Negotiations with the Duke of Bretagne.

Ibid. p. 615.

Edward resolves to aid the Duke of Bretagne, p. 624, 625.

626, 628.

1468.

the King conferred the command upon *Anthony Woodville*, Lord *Scales* his Brother-in-law.

The Dukes
of Berry
and Bre-
tagne are
put to
straits.
Argent.
Mezerai.
Comin.

The Duke
of Bur-
gundy
beats the
Ligois.

He hears
the Dukes
had made a
Peace with
Lewis.

He resolves
to go to War
without
them.

He gets ad-
vantagious
Terms of
Lewis.

Whilst those Affairs were negotiating at *London*, the Dukes of *Berry* and *Bretagne* were not a little embarrassed. The *Truce Lewis* had granted them being about to expire, they saw the Duke of *Burgundy* at too great a Distance, and too much taken up elsewhere to have any hopes of being delivered by his Means. As for the Succours which were to come from *England*, they were neither speedy nor strong enough to free them from the Danger they were in. Mean while the Duke of *Burgundy* made all the haste possible to put an End to the War with *Liege*, well-knowing how hard pressed the Duke of *Bretagne* was. At length he found Means to oblige his Enemies to come to a Battle, wherein he obtained a compleat Victory, which put them under a Necessity to sue for Peace. As soon as the Treaty was signed he set out for *Picardy*. He was come to the *Somme*, ready to enter upon Action, when he heard that the Dukes of *Berry* and *Bretagne* had made a Peace with the King of *France*; and that after renouncing all foreign Alliance, the Duke of *Berry* had taken up with an *Appannage* of Six Thousand *Livres* a Year in Land, and an Annuity of Sixty Thousand more in lieu of *Normandy*, which had been granted to him by the Treaty of *Conflans*. This News, which *Lewis* sent to him by an Express, was the most unwelcome. However, without suffering himself to be disheartened by this unexpected Blow, he resolved to remain incamped in the Place where he was. He was in hopes, as the Duke of *Bretagne* had been compelled to make a Peace, he would repent of what he had done, as soon as he saw himself supported, and would easily find some excuse to break it. This is what he plainly told those who advised him to sue to the King of *France* for Peace.

The Duke of *Burgundy's* Resolution made *Lewis* afraid. He was apprehensive that the Dukes of *Berry* and *Bretagne* would go from their Words, upon seeing Assistance so near at Hand. In which case, he might depend

depend upon having to deal with the King of *England*, the Dukes of *Burgundy* and *Bretagne*, and a great many of the most potent Lords of the Kingdom, who were dissatisfied with him. In this Uneasiness, which was not ill-grounded, he went from *Paris* where he then was into *Picardy*, on purpose to treat with the Duke of *Burgundy*. His Design succeeded to his Wish. The Duke, uncertain of the Resolution the Duke of *Bretagne* might take, agreed to retire, upon payment of Four Hundred Thousand Crowns, which *Lewis* gave him to defray his Charges.

Thus far *Lewis* had reason to be satisfied with the Advantages he had gotten. He had broken the League made against him, and had brought the Duke his Brother to accept of a very small *Appannage*. However, he could not find in his Heart to drop his first Project. He was resolved to ruin the Duke of *Bretagne*, that he might afterwards attack the other Peers, and the Duke of *Burgundy* himself, with the greater Safety. His extreme Desire to go through with this Project, made him commit the grossest Oversight that a Prince of his Cunning could possibly be guilty of. After signing the Treaty with the Duke of *Burgundy*, he would go and have a Conference with him. He had such a Conceit of himself, that he imagined he should be able to persuade that Prince to forsake the Duke of *Bretagne*. At least he hoped to sow Jealousies between them, which could not fail to turn greatly to his Advantage. With this view he demanded of the Duke a *Safe-Conduct* to come and meet him at *Peronne*. As soon as he had received it, he repaired to that Town with a slender Retinue, that he might the sooner gain the Good-will of the Duke, by putting so great Confidence in him. But before he sat out, he forgot to recal the Ambassadors he had sent to the *Liegeois*, to persuade them to break the Peace with the Duke of *Burgundy*, upon the Assurance he gave them of a powerful Aid. This was enough to induce that People to take up Arms again, and the News of it was brought to the Duke of *Burgundy* at *Peronne*, the same, or the next Day after the King

1408.

Lewis puts himself imprudently in the Power of the Duke of Burgundy. Contin.

The Duke discovers the Insincerity of Lewis, and makes him Prisoner.

1468. King arrived. A Procedure so contrary to good Faith, having convinced the Duke that *Lewis* sought only to over-reach him, he made him Prisoner in the Castle of *Peronne*, where he had lodged him, and detained him several Days, uncertain what Course he should take with him. *Lewis* judging of his Enemy by himself, was in mortal Agonies. So that not knowing how to get out of this Plunge, he saw he had nothing else to do but to submit to what Terms the Duke should think fit to impose upon him. He met with more Generosity in that Prince than he could have expected. After a pretty short Negotiation, it was agreed between them, that the King should give *Champagne* and *Brie* to the Prince his Brother, instead of *Normandy*, which he should have had by the Treaty of *Conflans*, and that he should accompany the Duke in the War with *Liege*. A few Days after they set out together towards the Territories of *Liege*, and *Lewis* had the Mortification to be himself a Witness of the Destruction of the Capital which he had preposterously hurried into that Misfortune. At length he got out of the Hands of the Duke of *Burgundy*, after having been in continual Fears either of losing his Life, or of undergoing a grievous Captivity during the Residue of his Days. Mean while he had no Inclination to execute indeed the Treaty he had made at *Peronne*. He found means afterwards to evade it.

Lewis submit to hard Terms.

Destruction of the City of Liege.

Edward's Alliance with Arragon. Act. Pub. XI. 631.

It is time now to leave the Affairs of which it was necessary to give a general Knowledge, and return to those of *England*, where a more moving Scene is going to open, by reason of the Variety of the Events which render this Part of *Edward's* Reign very remarkable. On the 20th of *October*, *Edward* renewed the old Alliance between *England* and *Arragon*. The *English* Historians place this Treaty in the Year 1466. but in the *Collection of Publick Acts*, it is dated *October* 20. 1468.

He presents the King of Arragon with some sheep. Biond. Habing.

Apparently they have confounded the Alliance with *Castile*, made in 1466. with that which was renewed two Years after with *Arragon*. 'Tis said, that upon this Occasion, *Edward* sent the King of *Arragon* a Present

sent of some *Ewes* and *Rams*, which so much increased, that it proved very detrimental to the Woollen-Manufacture of *England*.

1468.

It was about the End of the Year 1468. or the Beginning of 1469, that the Earl of *Warwick* thought himself in a Condition to begin the Execution of the Project he had formed against *Edward*. Since he had quitted the Court, he was so forgotten, that no body so much as thought of him there, but when it was necessary to send him Orders relating to his Government of *Calais*. If he went to *France* last Year, as the Continuator of *Monstrelet* affirms, it is hardly to be doubted but that he communicated his Designs to *Lewis XI.* and took measures with him accordingly. But supposing he went not out of *England*, it was no difficult Matter for him to treat with that Prince by secret Emissaries. Be that as it will, the Earl passionately desiring to let the World see that no Man should offend him with Impunity, believed his best way would be to begin with winning his two Brothers, the Archbishop of *York* and the Marquis of *Montague*, whose Interest was the same with his. To that End, he represented to them the Services they had all three done the King, and the little Account he had made of them, since the Rewards they had obtained bore no Proportion to what they had done for him: *That* not content with being ungrateful to all their Family, he had put upon him in particular a deadly Affront in the Affair of his Marriage: *That* moreover, he had attempted to disgrace their Family in a manner insupportable to Men of Honour. In fine, after abundance of other Things tending to convince them of the King's Ingratitude, he told them he had taken a Resolution to do his utmost to make him know, that he that had lifted him into the Throne was powerful enough to pull him down, and that in order to compass his Design, he desired their Advice and Assistance. The Archbishop of *York* suffered himself to be very easily carried to follow the Passion of the Earl his Brother. But the Marquis of *Montague* was more backward to resolve. He alledged Ar-

1469.

The Earl of Warwick draws his Brothers into the Plot to dethrone the King.

guments

1468.

arguments and Objections which the Earl of *Warwick* answered with great Vehemence. At length he suffered himself to be prevailed with ; but he gave to understand that it was not so much out of Inclination, as in pure Condescension to his Brother.

*He engages
the Duke of
Clarence
in the same
Design.*

This first Step being made, the Earl of *Warwick* addressed himself to the Duke of *Clarence*, who was the eldest of the King's Brothers. He knew the Duke was dissatisfied because the King his Brother had done nothing for him, but given him an empty Title which he had no Occasion for ; that besides, he had beheld with a jealous Eye the Lord *Scales* Brother of the Queen, married to the richest Heiress in the Kingdom, without any Care being taken to help him to so advantageous a Match. These Considerations having made the Earl of *Warwick* think the Duke would gladly embrace an Opportunity of being revenged, he imparted to him his Design. The Duke was inclined just as the Earl wished him ; and as he burned with Desire to be revenged of the little Affection the King expressed for him, he came without Hesitation into the Plot which was proposed to him. To settle him the firmer in this Resolution, the Earl of *Warwick* promised him his eldest Daughter in Marriage with a very considerable Fortune. All the Historians affirm, that presently after this Conference, they went together to *Calais*, where the Wedding was solemnized. But they do not say whether it was done privately, or with the King's Consent. What they add, that the Duke and Earl staid at *Calais* till the Insurrection which will be mentioned presently, cannot be true. It appears on the contrary, by several Papers in the *Collection of the Publick Acts*, that they were in *England* the best part of this Year, before the Insurrection, and even in the King's Favour, who had no Intelligence of their Plot. It even seems that he began to be sorry for having so much neglected the Earl of *Warwick*, since he made him chief Justiciary of *South-Wales*, and some Time after Seneschal of the whole Country.

*He marries
his Daugh-
ter to him.*

Not-

Notwithstanding these Favours, the Earl of *Warwick's* Projects began to be put in Execution. In the beginning of the Month of *October*, there was a Rising in *Yorkshire*, which all the Historians unanimously ascribe to the secret Practices of the Marquis of *Montague*, and the Archbishop of *York* his Brother. The Occasion or Pretence of it was this : There was at *York* an *Hospital*, to the Maintenance of which the whole *County* had always contributed, without however being obliged to it. In Time these voluntary Contributions were changed into a kind of Right, wholly founded upon Custom, and for which there were *Collectors* appointed. They who had been bribed to stir up the People, sily spread a Report, that the Contributions were misapplied, and served only to enrich the *Directors* of the *Hospital* : that besides, the *Hospital* being sufficiently endowed, there was no need of these Gatherings. Whereupon the Country People took Fire, as if it had been an Affair of the utmost Importance. They came together to the Number of fifteen Thousand, and having killed some of the *Collectors*, marched towards *York*, under the Command of one *Robert Huldern*. Upon News of this, the Marquis of *Montague* who resided at *York*, having drawn a Body of the Citizens together, sallied out upon the Rebels, slew great Numbers of them, and having taken their Leader, ordered his Head to be struck off. This proceeding would give Ground to presume, that he himself had not been concerned in raising the Sedition, if some other Steps which he made afterwards had been as doubtful.

1469.
*An Insur-
rection in
Yorkshire,
raised by
War-
wick's
Friends.*

*Montague
defeats the
Mutineers,
and be-
heads their
Leader.*

The first Rumour of this Commotion made the King apprehensive it would be attended with ill Consequences. Indeed the Occasion of it was of no great Moment. But knowing how numerous the *Lancastrian* Party still were, he questioned not but that some Lord, Friend to that *House*, had set it on Foot. However he was far enough from mistrusting that the Duke his Brother, and the Earl of *Warwick* were the prime Authors of it. Whatever the Issue might be, he dispatched

*Pembroke
ordered to
raise an Ar-
my in
Wales.*

1469.

*The Muti-
neers
march to-
wards Lon-
don.*

Orders to the Earl of *Pembroke* Governour of *Wales*, to assemble forthwith all the Forces of those Parts, and to keep in a readiness to march. In the mean Time the *Yorkshire* Male-Contents rather incensed than disheartened at the ill Success of their first Attempt, took up Arms again, and set at their Head *Henry* Son of the Lord *Fitz-Hugh*, and *Henry Nevil* Son of the Lord *Latimer*. These two young Leaders had not much Experience ; but they were assisted by Sir *John Conyers*, a Person of great Conduct and Valour, and well versed in the Art of War. Their first Project was to make themselves Masters of *York* ; but suddenly altering their Resolution and Rout, they marched towards *London*, not at all doubting but that their Army would increase by the Way, as it fell out indeed. Then it was that one might begin to perceive that the Business of the *Hospital* had been only a Pretext to get the People together. The Truth is, that Reason afforded the Mutineers no manner of Cloak to take the Rout to *London*.

*The Earl of
Pembroke
goes out to
meet them.
He is joined
by the Lord
Stafford.*

Mean while the Earl of *Pembroke* having drawn together in haste about ten Thousand Men, began his march in quest of the Male-Contents. He was joined upon the Road by the Lord *Stafford*, who brought him eight Hundred Archers. The two Armies being come pretty near one another, the Earl of *Pembroke* sent Sir *Richard Herbert* his Brother with a Detachment to take as near a View of the Enemy as was possible. Sir *Richard* who was a very good Officer, executed his Orders with a great deal of Conduct, without exposing himself however to be attacked. But his People, who had not his Experience, preposterously imaginning that he would lose a fair Opportunity to defeat the Enemies, fell in spite of his Teeth upon their Rear. But *Conyers*, who had expected it, had taken such Care, that the Detachment was put to rout with great Loss.

*The Muti-
neers re-
solve to re-
sist to Wal-
wick.*

*The Earl
receives a
Loss.*

Edward hearing of this, writ to the Earl of *Pembroke* not to be discouraged for so inconsiderable a Loss, assuring him he would come in Person and join him, or send a strong Reinforcement. Mean while the Mutineers finding they had close at their Heels an Army, which

which might daily increase, and fearing to meet the King in their march, came to a Resolution to retire to *Warwick*, where in all Appearance the Leaders knew very well they should be received. But the Earl of *Pembroke*, impatient to have his Revenge, marched directly towards them, and constrained them to halt near *Banbury*, where the two Armies encamped at a small Distance from one another *. In the mean Time, the Earl of *Pembroke* and the Lord *Stafford* having quarrelled about a Lodging †. *Stafford* withdrew in the Night with his eight Hundred Archers. On the Morrow, at break of Day, the Male-Contents marched in good Order to attack the King's Army. They had been informed by Deserters of the Lord *Stafford's* Retreat, and were resolved to take Advantage of it. *Henry Neville* one of their Generals, having advanced in order to engage, for fear the *Royalists* should take it in their Heads to retire, was fiercely repulsed, made Prisoner, and put to Death in cool Blood. This barbarous Action having inspired the northern Men with a sort of Fury, they ran headlong upon the Enemy, and in spite of the Valour of Sir *Richard Herbert*, who performed that Day Actions which all the Historians speak of with the highest Praises ‡, the King's Army was put to rout. The Earl of *Pembroke* and his Brother fell into the Hands of the Conquerors, who having brought them to *Banbury*, ordered their Heads to be struck off, in revenge for the Death of Sir *Henry Neville*. After this Victory, the Male-Contents kept on their March to *Warwick*. Hitherto the Earl of *Warwick* and the Duke of *Clarence* had not declared for them. It may be they went some Time before to *Calais* to avoid the Suspicion of having any Hand in the Insurrection in Case it miscarried, and to make their Advantage of it, in case it succeeded.

The Earl
pursues
them.

Stafford
deserts him.

The King's
Army is
worsted,
and the
Earl of
Pembroke
beheaded.

* Upon *Danes-More* near *Hedgcote*, within four Miles of *Banbury*.

† Where it seems the Lord *Stafford* had got a Mistress.

‡ With his Pole-Ax in his Hand he made his way twice through the main Body of his Enemies.

1469.
The Northamptonshire Mutineers behead the Earl of Rivers.

A few Days after the Battle of *Banbury*, the People of *Northamptonshire* following the Example of the *Yorkshire* Men, flocked together in great Numbers, under the Conduct of one *Robert of Riddefdale*. This Troop which increased continually, going in a tumultuous Manner to the *Mansion-House* of *Grafton*, belonging to the Earl of *Rivers* Father of the Queen, seized upon the Earl by Force, and brought him to *Northampton*, where he was beheaded without any Process of Law.

The King beheads the Lord Stafford.

On the other Side, the King justly incensed with the Lord *Stafford* for having abandoned the Earl of *Pembroke* upon a frivolous Quarrel, and thereby occasioned the Loss of the Battle of *Banbury*, commanded him to be publicly beheaded.

The King's Blindness in regard to the Earl of Warwick.

One would think the Death of the Earl of *Rivers* should have convinced the King that the Earl of *Warwick*, though Absent, was the real Author of these Troubles, supposing the march of the Male-Contents towards *London*, and the Battle of *Banbury* had not been enough to make him suspect it. *Warwick* was sworn Enemy of the Earl of *Rivers*, he was angry with the King, and the Male-Contents had been received without Opposition into the Town of *Warwick*. In a Word, these People had no manner of Reason to take up Arms against *Edward* on the Score of the Hospital at *York*, if they had not been privately egged on by some powerful Enemy of the King, who could be no other than the Earl of *Warwick*. The Truth is, there was not at that Time in the Kingdom any Prince of the *House of Lancaster*, or any Lord of that Party, in a Condition to cause these Insurrections. Wherefore as *Edward* could not be ignorant of the Discontent and great Credit of the Earl of *Warwick* and his Brothers, he ought to have concluded that they were at the Bottom of these Things. And yet, though it appears by the *Collection of the Publick Acts* that the Earl of *Rivers* was put to Death before the 16th of *November*, it was not till the *March* following that the King saw plainly he

he had to do with the Earl of *Warwick* ; so monstrously Blind was he in that Respect ! 1469.

The sharpness of the Season interrupted for some Time the Civil War which was just kindled. Besides, the King, who had expected no such Thing, wanted Time to prepare. On the other Side, the Male-Contents not having yet a Head declared, lay quiet, expecting more particular Directions. 1470. *The War ceases during the Winter.*

During this Winter, *Lewis XI* sent Ambassadors into *England*, under Colour of treating about the renewing of the Truce. In all appearance his sole Aim was to have perfect Information of the Posture of Affairs in that Kingdom. At the same Time *Edward*, desirous of knitting closer the Band of the Alliance he had made with the Duke of *Burgundy*, sent him the *Order of the Garter*, which that Prince received at *Bruges* on the 4th of *February* with great Solemnity. *Embassy from France. P. 560.*

If the Duke of *Clarence* and the Earl of *Warwick* were at *Calais* during the Troubles I have just spoken of, it is likely that they returned not to *England* till about the Month of *February* 1470. The Truth is, there is no mention of them in the *Collection of the Public Acts* since *August* last Year. After their Return, *Edward* was so far from suspecting them, that on the 7th of *March* he sent them jointly a Commission to levy Troops against the Rebels in the *North*. Seven Days after he conferred upon the Earl of *Worcester* the Office of *High-Constable*, vacant by the Death of the Earl of *Rivers*. *P. 651. P. 652. P. 654.*

But shortly after the King's Eyes were fully opened with regard to the Duke his Brother and the Earl of *Warwick*. They levied Troops by Virtue of his Commission ; but not for his Service. Besides, the Rebels made no scruple to own them for their Heads. Wherefore on both Sides greater Preparations than ever were made to renew the War. Mean Time, *Edward* was so prepossessed that the Duke his Brother and the Earl of *Warwick* durst not appear before him, that he imagined their Design was to fly into *Ireland*, of which the Duke of *Clarence* was Lord-Lieutenant. In this Belief he *Warwick and Clarence declare for the Rebels. The King's Security ill grounded. P. 654.*

1470.

P. 655.

he issued out a *Proclamation*, dated *May* the 23d, forbidding the *Irish* to obey any longer the Duke his Brother, and ordering them on the contrary to apprehend him as well as the Earl of *Warwick*, in case they retired thither. Moreover he promised any Person that should take them, an Annuity of a Thousand Pounds *Sterling*, or the Sum of ten Thousand Pounds in ready Money, which he would. By the same *Proclamation*, he conferred the Government of *Ireland* upon the Earl of *Worcester*. Three Days after he gave Orders for levying Troops in all the Counties under his Obedience, the which was performed with good speed.

The Duke
and Earl
levy Troops
and join.

The King
marches a-
gainst them.
Biond. 1
Habing.
Echard.

Talk of an
Accommo-
dation.

The King
desires it.

He is negli-
gent during
the Negoti-
ation.

But the Duke of *Clarence* and the Earl of *Warwick* were far enough from any Thoughts of withdrawing into *Ireland*. On the contrary, they were very busy in raising Troops, each in different Quarters. At length, having received Intelligence that the King was preparing to march against them, they thought proper to join, lest by remaining separate they should give him too great an Advantage. And therefore *Edward* when he marched to attack them, found them waiting for him, and bent to decide the Quarrel by a Battle. But however the Uncertainty of the Issue keeping both Sides equally in suspense, some of the most prudent Lords interposed to try to procure an Accommodation before they came to Blows. The King passionately desired it, because he considered that he was going to hazard his Crown by the Loss of a Battle, whereas the Victory could procure him no great Advantage. On the other Hand, he flattered himself, that the Earl of *Warwick* seeing him in so good Posture, would be glad to get out of the Plunge he was in, by an honourable Composition. So looking upon the Negotiation as sure of succeeding, he omitted to take the usual Precautions for the Defence of his Camp, contrary to the most steady Maxim of War, that a Man ought never to be more upon his Guard than whilst he is upon Treaty.

Mean

Mean Time the Earl of *Warwick* having been informed of the King's Negligence, failed not to take Advantage of it. Having taken all possible Care to hinder his Design from being discovered, he marched in the Night directly into the King's Camp, and attacking it unawares, put it in the utmost Confusion. *Edward* himself surprized, as well as all the rest of his Army, saw himself in the Hands of his Enemies before he could take any Measures for his Defence or Escape. The victorious Earl no sooner had him in his Power but he caused him to be conducted to *Warwick*. After that he ordered him to be removed to *Middleham-Castle*, under the Custody of the Archbishop of *York* his Brother; who was no less concerned than he to look well to such a Prisoner.

1470.
The Earl of
Warwick
attacks the
King un-
awares,

and takes
him Prison-
er.

This Accident seemed to have put an End to the War. Indeed *Edward* being a Prisoner, nothing appeared that could oppose the two victorious Lords. Wherefore they so far confided in their good Fortune that they disbanded the best part of their Troops, as having no farther need of them after so decisive a Blow. They had no other Business but to see in what manner the Government should be settled; for it does not appear that they had any Desire to restore *Henry* to the Throne. But an unexpected Event, no less surprizing than that which had just happened, broke all their Measures. *Edward* being confined in *Middleham-Castle*, under the Custody of the Archbishop of *York*, behaved in so obliging a Manner to that Prelate, that he got leave to go now and then a Hunting in the Park with a small Guard. Having made this first Step, he prevailed with one of his Guards to deliver a Letter to two Gentlemen of the neighbourhood, wherein he chalked out to them what Course they should take to free him. The Gentlemen * overjoyed at having an Opportunity to do the King so great a Service, privately got their Friends together, and lying in Ambush close by the Park, easily carried him off. *Edward*

Warwick
dismisses his
Troops.

Edward
makes his
escape and
comes to
London;

* Sir William Stanley and Sir Thomas Burgh;

1470. *ward* being at Liberty contrary to all Expectation, forthwith repaired to *York*. But he made no long stay there, either not relying too much on the Inhabitants, or thinking it best to approach nearer *London*. Be that as it will, he went with all speed into *Lancashire*, where he found the Lord *Hastings* his High-Chamberlain, who had drawn some Troops together. After that, having fetched a Compass in order to deceive the Vigilance of the Earl of *Warwick*, he went directly to *London*, where he was received without any Difficulty. The Earl of *Warwick* so little expected such a Turn, that he had taken no Care to secure the Metropolis, not imagining it was in the least Danger.

Warwick
draws his
Troops to-
gether a-
gain.

Edward
does the
same.

Conference
at West-
minster of
no Effect.

It is easy to conceive what a surprise the Earl of *Warwick* was in upon the receiving this fatal News. The Indiscretion of the Archbishop his Brother was so exceeding great, that he could not help suspecting that he had suffered himself to be bribed. But as it was then no proper Time to examine his Conduct, he thought of nothing but how to draw together his Troops again, the which could not be done in a few Days. *Edward* was likewise in the same Perplexity, seeing he was without an Army. So that notwithstanding they were both desirous to end the Quarrel by a Battle, they were fain to stay till they had assembled their Forces. During that Time some Lords of peaceful Disposition, proposed the renewing the Negotiation set on Foot before the King's Imprisonment. The Proposal being closed with, the Mediators judged that an Interview of the King and the two Chiefs of the opposite Party, might conduce to a Peace. In this Belief they ordered it so, that the two Heads came to *Westminster* upon the King's Safe-Conduct. But the Conference had not the Effect that was expected. It was wholly spent in mutual Reproaches, which are not very apt to soften Men's Minds.

The Lord
Wells's Son
raises
Troops for
Warwick.

Presently after the Interview, every one prepared for War. The Earl of *Warwick* commissioned Sir *Robert Wells*, Son of the Lord *Wells*, to levy Troops in *Lincolnshire*, which he performed with great Ease, by reason of

of the Interest his Family had in those Parts. *Edward* having notice of it, sent an exprefs Order to the Lord *Wells* to come immediately to Court. His Design was to oblige him to use his Authority, to induce his Son to forsake the Rebels. The Lord *Wells* being come to *London*, heard how much the King was incensed against his Son, and fearing he himself should feel the Effects of his Resentment, took Sanctuary in *Westminster-Abbey*. But the King having sent him a *Safe-Conduct*, he immediately went to Court. He even writ to his Son, enjoining him to quit the Earl of *Warwick's* Party, and dismiss his Troops: but the Son refused to obey. Then *Edward* enraged at not being able to succeed, ordered the Lord *Wells* to be beheaded, together with Sir *Thomas Dymock* his Brother-in-law, who had accompanied him. Apparently he imagined that they connived at the Matter.

The Lord Wells is beheaded.

This violent Action was very injurious to *Edward's* Reputation, and inspired young *Wells* with a Desire of Revenge, which brought on his own Ruin, and proved extremely prejudicial to the Earl of *Warwick's* Affairs. The King perceiving that *Wells's* Troops visibly increased, thought best to go and fight him before he had joined the Duke of *Clarence* and the Earl of *Warwick*, who were raising Men in other Counties. *Wells* was incamped near *Stafford*, to which Place he might easily have retired. But the desire of revenging the Death of his Father, made him resolve to expect the King without stirring. He fought with an undaunted Courage as long as his Troops would stand by him. At last, finding Victory declared for the King, he would have provoked his Enemies to kill him, but they refused him that favour, and spared his Life only to make him lose it a few Days after on the Scaffold. In this Battle *Edward* obtained a compleat Victory over his Enemies, of whom Ten Thousand were slain *.

The King defeats young Wells and beheads him,

* This Battle was fought near *Stamford* not *Stafford*, and from the *Lincolnshire* Men throwing off their Coats in order to run away the lighter, was called the Battle of *Lose-Coat Field*.

1470.
Clarence
and War-
wick re-
tire into
France.

Vauclair
refuses
them En-
trance into
Calais.

Comins
He is made
Governor of
Calais.

The Duke
and Earl go
to Lewis
XI,
Biond.

The Defeat of Sir *Robert Wells* broke all the Measures of the Duke of *Clarence* and the Earl of *Warwick*. They were not yet ready, and the King was upon the March to attack them. In this Extremity they had no other Course to take but to embark in order to screen themselves from the impending Danger. The Earl of *Warwick* took his two Daughters along with him, the eldest of whom, who had married the Duke of *Clarence*, was ready to lye-in. His Intent was to go to his Government of *Calais*, where he had left for his Deputy-Lieutenant one *Vauclair*, a *Gascon* Captain, in whose Fidelity he entirely confided. But how great was his Surprise, when upon his approaching *Calais* he saw a Cannon-Ball fired at him! He imagined he should be able to move *Vauclair* by the Consideration of the Dutcheſs of *Clarence's* Case, who was just brought to Bed in the Ship of a Prince named *Edward*. But all he could get of him was a Present of two Bottles of Wine for the Dutcheſs. Mean while *Vauclair* took care to send this poor Present by the Hands of a trusty Messenger, who told the Earl of *Warwick* from him, that he was still devoted to his Service: but however, was forced to use him in this manner, the better to serve him, because if he entered the Town, he would by no means be safe; but that he might depend upon his Fidelity. *Edward*, who knew not the Motive of *Vauclair's* Proceedings, was so well pleased with what he had done, that he made him Governor of *Calais*, as the Duke of *Burgundy* of his own accord added a yearly Pension of a Thousand Crowns.

Warwick seeing himself thus repulsed, steered his Course to *Dieppe*, where he safely landed with the Duke of *Clarence* and his two Daughters. A few Days after they departed from thence to go and wait upon the King of *France*, who was then at *Amboise*, and who received them very civilly. I have remarked before, that *Lewis* had no mind to concern himself with the Affairs of *England*, when *Edward* and *Henry* were contending for the Crown. But since he saw the strict Alliance which was formed between *Edward* and the Duke of *Burgundy*,

And, he found it was no less his Interest to work the Ruin of the one than of the other. To this Reason of State was added the Desire of revenging the Affront *Edward* had put upon him on the Affair of his Marriage. In fine, the Assistance *Edward* would have given the Duke of *Bretagne*, fully convinced him, that as long as that Prince sat on the Throne, the *French* Princes would ever find in him a Protector. All these Reasons together moved *Lewis* not only to give the fugitive *English* a civil Reception, but moreover to promise them a powerful Aid. The Truth is, nothing could be to him more agreeable, and withal more advantageous, than to see the civil War kindled afresh in *England*. It is even very probable that he had already for that purpose taken private Measures with the Earl of *Warwick*, and that the Earl would never have ventured to declare against *Edward*, had he not been sure of the *French* King's Assistance. Be that as it will, an opportunity naturally offering to create *Edward* in his own Country Troubles, which would prevent his interposing in the Affairs of his Neighbours, he sent for Queen *Margaret* to Court, who some Years since was gone home to the King of *Sicily* her Father. It was the Earl of *Warwick* that had brought all the Misfortunes on that Princess, and the Earl for his Part looked upon her as his mortal Enemy. And yet their common Interest requiring that they should stifle their Animosity, *Lewis* was at no great Pains to make them Friends. Upon the present Occasion they could hardly do one without the other. *Warwick* plainly perceived that he wanted a Pretence to dethrone the King, and he could find none more plausible than that of restoring *Henry*, which he could not labour to bring about, without going Hand in Hand with the Queen. On the other side, the Queen saw no other way but this to restore the King her Husband, or rather to restore herself to the Throne. Wherefore, as she beheld a Glimpse of Hope shining from that Quarter, she stuck not to receive her old Enemy for her Protector. Their Reconciliation therefore was made by the Mediation of

who promises them Aid.

Queen Margaret is reconciled with them.

1470.
The Terms
of Reconcili-
ation.

the King of *France*, upon these Terms: *That* the Duke of *Clarence* and the Earl of *Warwick* should do their best to restore *Henry* to the Throne: *That* the Queen should bind herself by Oath to leave the Government of the Kingdom in their Hands during the King's Life, and the Nonage of the Prince his Son, in case he should come to the Crown before he was of Age: Lastly, *That* to strengthen their Union, the Prince of *Wales* should marry the Earl of *Warwick's* youngest Daughter. The last Article was executed out of hand. Thus the Brother of King *Edward* became Brother-in-law of the young Prince of *Lancaster*, and the Earl of *Warwick* was equally allied to the two contending Houses.

The Duke of
Burgundy
warns Ed-
ward of it.

The Duke of *Burgundy*, who had good Spies at the Court of *France*, being informed of what was doing, warned *Edward* of it, who took but little notice of it. He could never believe that the Earl of *Warwick*, who had been fain to quit the Kingdom for want of Friends to support him, would be powerful enough in his Absence to cause the People to rise in his Favour. As for the Preparations that were making in *France*, he was in no manner of Fright about them, being sensible how difficult it is for a foreign Nation to conquer *England*, if the People themselves don't lend a helping-hand. Reasoning thus upon very doubtful Grounds, namely, the Affections of the People for him, and the little Credit of the Earl of *Warwick*, he neglected his main Business to give himself up to an effeminate and voluptuous Life, to which he was extremely inclined.

Edward
gains the
Duke of
Clarence.
Comin.
Biond.
Habing.

What gave him the most Uneasiness was to see the Duke of *Clarence* his Brother in strict Union with his Enemies. This Union had already produced ill Effects, and might in time produce still worse. In order therefore to make himself easy, he believed he ought to do his best to win his Brother to his side. To that End, he bribed one of the Dutcheſs of *Clarence's* Women, and having fully instructed her in the Part she was to act, he granted her a *Paſs-Port*, to go to her Mistress. This Woman setting out for *Paris*, passed through

through *Calais*, where she saw the Governor without letting him into the Secret. It was very lucky for *Edward* that *Vauclair*, who was in the Interests of the Earl of *Warwick*, was not acquainted with the Affair: for he would not have failed to disclose the whole Matter. When the Woman came to her Mistress, she discharged her Commission very dexterously and with success. She represented to the Duke of *Clarence* from the King his Brother, *that* the Course he was taking must needs end in the Ruin of himself: *That* supposing the Designs he had formed with the Earl of *Warwick* should succeed to his Wishes, he could not expect that *the House of Lancaster* would put any Trust in a Prince of *the House of York*, the Moment they should have no farther need of him: *That* his very Life would be in danger: *That* he was so far from being able to rely upon the Queen's Oath, that he ought on the contrary to consider it as a Snare to entrap him: *That* the Earl of *Warwick* would be the first to oppress him, as well to get rid of an Associate in the Government, as to dispatch out of the Way a Prince, who might one Day have it in his Power to revenge the Injuries done to his *House*: *That* on the other Hand, the King his Brother having only one Daughter of a tender Age, whom Death might easily snatch out of the World, he was the next Heir to the Crown: but in case *the House of Lancaster* happened to be restored, he would lose all Prospect of mounting the Throne, since it was very possible that *Henry's* Son would have a numerous Issue: To these Reasons which were very strong, she added Motives taken from the Ties of Blood; some Excuses from the King, with a positive Promise to look upon him for the future as his real Brother, and as the chief Support of their Family. A Man must have wanted common Sense not to yield to such convincing Arguments. The Duke of *Clarence* seeing then at last his true Interests, charged the Woman to tell the King his Brother that he would not fail to declare for him, the Moment he should be able to do it with safety, and with likelihood of doing him some considerable Service. *Ed-*
ward

1470.

ward having been informed how the Duke of *Clarence* stood affected, grew perfectly easy, believing that the future Attempts of the Earl of *Warwick* would be fruitless, since he would not be seconded by the Duke his Son-in-law. It must be confessed that the Earl of *Warwick* was somewhat out in his Politicks, in making the Duke of *Clarence* an Instrument to ruin the King his Brother. He must have taken for granted, that the Duke would with his Eyes open run counter to his own Interests, the which he could not have expected from the most stupid Person alive. And indeed, he was very sensible at last, but when it was too late, that he had taken false Measures.

*The Earl of
Warwick
comes into
England.
Mczerai.*

Whilst *Edward* lived on in a deceitful Security, the Earl of *Warwick* was preparing to return to *England*. He was sure of finding there a strong Party, to which were joined all the Friends of *the House of Lancaster*, whom he had taken care to acquaint with his Design. *Lewis XI.* furnished him with Money and Troops, but in no great Quantity. As far as one can judge, the sole Aim of that Monarch was to foment the Discord among the *English*, to prevent them from interposing in his Affairs. He still persisted in his Design of subduing the Dukes of *Burgundy* and *Bretagne*, in which he thought he could not succeed, as long as these two Princes might expect the Protection of *England*. Meanwhile, to facilitate the Earl of *Warwick's* Descent, he had ordered the *Bastard of Bourbon* to convoy him with some Ships of War; but it was no easy Matter to pass over into *England*. The Duke of *Burgundy's* Fleet, much stronger than that of *France*, lay upon the Watch in the Mouth of the *Seine* to engage the *French* in case they set Sail; and it was not very likely that the *Bastard of Bourbon* would venture to fight against so great odds. This hindered not the Earl of *Warwick* from repairing to *Haver de Grace*, that he might be ready to lay hold on any Opportunity that should offer. This Procedure was not in vain. Some Days after his Arrival a violent Storm dispersed the *Flemish* Ships, so that they could no longer keep the Sea, but were forced to retire
into

into their Harbours. The Storm being blown over, the Duke of *Clarence* and the Earl of *Warwick* set sail and arrived at *Dartmouth*, from whence they had passed into *France* four or five Months before. 1470.

The News of their landing, was so far from alarming *Edward*, that he was overjoyed at it. Possessed with the Notion that it was impossible for the Earl of *Warwick* to compass his Ends, he fancied that he could wish for nothing better than to see his Enemy come and give himself up into his Hands. Thus prejudiced, he desired the Duke of *Burgundy* to order his Fleet out to Sea, to hinder the Earl of *Warwick* from escaping once more. But the Duke of *Burgundy* thought otherwise of this Expedition. He could not believe that so prudent a Person as the Earl of *Warwick* would have ventured thus, if he had not been sure of a Party in *England* strong enough to support him. And indeed *Warwick* had no sooner landed his Men, but he saw himself at the Head of an Army, which in a few Days became sixty Thousand strong. Immediately he caused *Henry VI* to be proclaimed, and issued out an Order in his Name, for all his Subjects from Sixteen to Sixty, to take up Arms and drive out the Tyrant and Usurper. *Edward's ill grounded Security.*
Warwick has an Army of 60000 Men.

So unexpected a Turn opened *Edward's* Eyes and made him see the Folly of his Expectations. Mean Time he gave Orders to levy some Troops, and appointed the Rendezvous about *Nottingham*. Some affirm that his Army was more numerous than the Earl of *Warwick's*. Others again say that it was much inferior, and this indeed is most probable. Had *Edward* been Superior in Number of Troops, he would most certainly have marched towards his Enemies, whereas upon their Approach he retired towards the Sea. The News he received, that the Marquis of *Montague* who commanded in the *North*, had declared against him, troubled him exceedingly, apprehensive as he was that this Defection would be followed by many others. He wanted to avoid coming to a Battle; but knew not where to retire, because he was ignorant who were his real Friends. At length he went and encamped *Edward raises Troops likewise.*
Montague deserts him.
Edward retires into Lincolnshire.

1470.

He is pur-
sued.He im-
barks and
goes for
Holland.He is in
Danger of
being taken
by Pyrates,
but is de-
livered by
the Lord
Gruthuyse

camped near *Lynn* in *Lincolnshire*, a little Town by the Sea-side, and lodged in the Castle. This Precaution, though perhaps taken without Design, proved of great Service to him. The Earl of *Warwick* being come within three Miles of his Army, made every Place re-sound with *King Henry ! King Henry !* and the same Shouts, by some unknown Stratagem, began likewise to be heard in *Edward's* Camp. Whereupon he commanded the Castle-Gates to be shut, and the Bridge to be strongly guarded, whilst he held a Council about what was to be done. But the Shoutings which grew louder and louder in his Army not affording him Time to debate, he saw no remedy but to embark with four or five Hundred trusty Men, on Board three small Ships which had served to bring Provisions for his Army. The Lord *Hastings* placed himself in the *Rear*, to keep back the Soldiers in case they had attempted to stop the King's Flight, and when all were embark-ed he went himself on Board one of the Ships.

Edward being in this sad Condition, ordered his Ships to steer for *Holland*, not knowing where to retire but to the Dominions of the Duke of *Burgundy* his Brother-in-law. Whilst he was beating the Seas, his Ships were spied by eight *Pirates* of the *Low-Countries* or *Germany*, whom the *Englisb* called *Easterlings*, from their Country lying *East* of *England*. Immediately the *Pirates* set all their Sails and gave Chace to the three Ships ; but as these were the lighter Vessels, they had Time to get into *Alcmar-Road* at low Water. And that hindered the *Pirates* from pursuing them any farther, they not daring to stand in so near the Land. Mean Time they came to an Anchor within Sight of them, designing to go and attack them at High-Water. In this Extremity *Edward* had no other Course to take but to make Signals to implore the Protection of the Country. Luckily for him, the Lord *Gruthuyse*, whom I have spoken off before, being then Governour of *Holland*, happened to be at *Alcmar*. The Moment he was informed that these Ships desired Assistance, he sent a Sloop to know what they were. As soon

1470.

soon as he heard that the King of *England* was on Board, he sent an Order to the Pyrates not to approach upon Pain of incurring the Indignation of the Duke his Master. These People, though so near their Prey, durst not disobey. They stood too often in need of the Governour's Protection to do any Thing to displease him. So *Grutbuysse* went himself in a Sloop to wait on the King, and paid him all the Respect due to him. *Edward* not having any Money to give the Master of the Vessel that had brought him over, made him a Present of a rich Robe lined with *Sables*. After that he was conducted to the *Hague*, where *Grutbuysse* bore his and his Retinues Charges, till he had received the Duke of *Burgundy's* Orders.

Mean while the Queen who was at *London*, hearing of the King's Flight, had taken Sanctuary in *Westminster-Abby*, where she was followed by great Numbers of the Friends of the *House of York*. There she was brought to Bed of a Prince called *Edward*, who was born Heir of a noble Kingdom, at the very Time the King his Father lost it. Whilst *Edward's* Friends were in the utmost Consternation, the Duke of *Clarence* and the Earl of *Warwick*, Victorious without drawing their Swords, were upon the Road to *London*, where they entered in Triumph in the Beginning of *October*. On the 6th of the same Month the Earl of *Warwick*, attended by several Lords and a great Crowd of People, went to the *Tower* and freed King *Henry*, who had been a Prisoner there six Years.

*The Queen
flies for
Sanctuary.*

*Clarence
and War-
wick
comes to
London
and frees
King
Henry.*

Whilst these Things were in Agitation, the Populace of *Kent* being gathered together, marched directly to *London* with Design to enrich themselves with the Plunder of the City. But the Earl of *Warwick*, going out against them with Part of his Troops, easily beat back the Rabble, and ordered some of the most mutinous to be executed. He could not however prevent the Plundering of *Southwark* parted from the City by the *Thames*.

*Sedition in
Kent.*

1470.
Henry is
restored to
the Throne.

The Tumult being appeased, *Henry* was solemnly proclaimed, as mounting again the Throne. Next Day there was a *Procession*, at which the new King assisted with his Crown on his Head, and followed by an innumerable Crowd of People, who by their Acclamations showed that they rejoiced at the *Revolution* which had just happened. Thus the Earl of *Warwick* had the Honour of restoring *Henry* to the Throne, from whence he had made him descend, and of pulling down *Edward* who had been raised purely by his Means. Wherefore he was commonly called, *The King-Maker*.



HENRY VI Restored.

Montague
is made
President
of the
North.
Act. Pub.
XI. 66s.

Remark
upon the
Parliaments.

ONE of the first Things the new King did, or rather the Earl of *Warwick* who governed in his Name, was to restore the Marquis of *Montague* to the Government of the northern Counties, which *Edward* had taken from him and conferred upon the Duke of *Gloucester* his Brother. Then a Parliament was called for the 20th of *November* to confirm the late *Revolution*. This was a necessary Formality to please the People, though in the main the Parliament's Confirmation was of no great Weight, in an Affair which was done without it, and in which it could make no Alteration. The very same Thing had happened when *Edward* mounted the Throne. The contrary Resolutions of the Parliaments in regard to the Quarrel between the Houses of *Lancaster* and *York*, are a clear Evidence that these Assemblies acted not with Freedom, but were swayed by the Events which happened before they had debated the Matter. To no purpose then is it to plead the Authority of the Parliaments in Defense of the Rights of either of the two Houses. Their Resolves are properly of no manner of Force,

Force, since they had not the Liberty to judge according to their Conscience. Unless a Man will say that their Conscience directed them always to side with the strongest. 1470.

Be this as it will, the Parliament voted *Edward* a *Edward* *Traitor* and an *Usurper* of the Crown, confiscated all his Estate, and annulled all the *Statutes* made in his Reign, as wanting a lawful Authority. *declared a Traitor and Usurper.*

By another *Act* the Crown was confirmed upon *Henry VI* and the Heirs Male of his Body. But for want of such Heirs it was decreed that the Crown should go to the *House of York*, that is, to the Duke of *Clarence* and his Heirs, *Edward's* eldest Son of the late Duke of *York* being excluded on the score of his Rebellion. *An extraordinary Act to settle the Succession.* Here would be a large Field to expatiate upon the unlimited Authority of the Parliaments, if this *Statute* had been made with Freedom, and after a mature Debate. But a Man may easily see the little Freedom there was in this Parliament, if he considers that this *Act* was nothing more than a bare Confirmation of the Earl of *Warwick's* Engagements. Moreover, out of pure Condescension for the Earl, or rather by his Direction, and contrary to the Laws and Customs of the Realm, they made no scruple to deprive the Women of the *House of Lancaster*, of a Right which the Princesses of the Royal Family had all along enjoyed ever since the *Norman Conquest*. Thus by a hasty Resolve, was established in *England* a kind of *Salick-Law*, which the *English* had carped at so much, and been so merry upon, when *Edward III* and *Philip de Valois* were contending for the Crown of *France*. This same Parliament restored to all their Honours and Rights, *Jasper Tudor* Earl of *Pembroke* half-Brother to *Henry*, and *John* Earl of *Oxford*, who had been attainted in the Reign of *Edward*.

Moreover in pursuance of the Engagements *Queen Margaret* had entered into at *Amboise*, the Duke of *Clarence* and the Earl of *Warwick* were declared and appointed Governours of the Kingdom. By this the Parliament manifestly supposed *Henry's* Inability, who *The Duke and Earl declared Governours of the Kingdom.*

1470.

indeed was considered only as the Shadow of a King. A Pardon was likewise granted to the Marquis of *Montague*, for the Fault he had been guilty of in serving *Edward*, since his deserting him at so critical a Time, was the principal Cause of his flying the Kingdom. But this was not all yet. To give the Earl of *Warwick* a plausible Pretence to be revenged of his private Enemies, all those that had born Arms in Defence of *Edward's* pretended Right, were declared Traitors and Rebels. Pursuant to which Act, *John Tiptoft* Earl of *Worcester* Governour of *Ireland*, and High-Constable of *England* having been found hid in a hollow Tree, was brought to *London* and beheaded. By these Acts of private Revenge, the Nobles of the opposite Party were forced, as one may say, to seek for safety in Arms only. Perhaps this is one of the principal Causes of several Revolutions which had already happened, and of those which fell out in process of Time.

The Earl of
Richmond
presented to
the King.
Henry's
pretended
Prophecy.

Shortly after the breaking up of the Parliament, the Earl of *Pembroke* went to see for *Henry* Earl of *Richmond* his Nephew, who had concealed himself in *Wales*, and brought him to the King. It is pretended that *Henry*, stedfastly fixing his Eyes upon that young Prince, foretold that he should one Day mount the Throne and put an End to the Quarrel of the two Houses. But I do not know whether this Fact be so well averred as divers Historians affirm it to be. There seems to be some Ground to presume it was invented in the Reign of *Henry VII*, when the Canonization of *Henry VI* was soliciting at *Rome*. The Truth is, the chief Cause of the Pope's Opposition was, that although he was willing to own *Henry VI* for a good Man, yet he could see in his Life no Proof of an eminent Sanctity. So that this pretended Prophecy, if it had been well attested, would have been exceeding proper to remove the Objection.

A Grant to
the Arch-
bishop of
York.
Act. Pub.
XI. 669.

The Earl of *Warwick* having forgiven the Archbishop of *York* his Brother for letting *Edward* escape, procured him a Grant of *Woodstock-Park*, and divers other

other *Manors*, with the Confiscation of the Estates of several Persons condemned for Rebellion, that is, for having served *Edward*.

I left *Edward* at the *Hague* in a very sad Condition, deprived of his Kingdom, and living at the Expence of the Lord *Grutbuysse*, till the Duke of *Burgundy* was informed of his Case. The News of the Arrival of the King his Brother-in-law in his Dominions was by no means pleasing to the Duke. *Philip de Comines* affirms, he would have been less uneasy at the News of his Death. Indeed as Matters stood, he had but one Course to take, namely, to approve of *Henry's* Restoration. But *Edward* being alive and in *Holland*, could not but throw him into great Perplexity. He had made an Alliance with him not out of Affection, but purely for Reasons of *State*. He had sacrificed to his Interest the Aversion he had for the *House of York*: an Aversion wherein he had been brought up by his Mother, who was Daughter of a Princess of the *House of Lancaster*. Mean while he was reduced to the wretched Necessity either of deserting his Brother-in-law who was come for Refuge into his Dominions, or of exposing himself, by giving him Protection, to the Danger of drawing upon him the united Forces of *France* and *England*. On the other Hand, the Dukes of *Exeter* and *Somerſet*, who made another sort of Figure at his Court than what they did before the Revolution, earnestly pressed him to abandon *Edward*, and threatened him in case of Refusal, with the Indignation of *England*. Moreover the Earl of *Warwick* had sent already to *Calais* a Body of Troops, which only waited for Orders to join the *French* and invade some Part of the *Low-Countries*. *Vauclair* had not only received these Troops into the Town, but by many other Steps he had shown that he had been far enough from being unfaithful to the Earl of *Warwick*. *Philip de Comines* relates that the Duke his Master having sent him to *Calais*, to get the Truce of Commerce confirmed between that Place and the *Low-Countries*, found the Governour, Garrison, and Townsmen entirely of *Henry's* Side. He adds, that

The Duke of Burgundy's Trouble about Edward

Comin.

1470.

that he saw no other way to succeed in his Negotiation but to give the Inhabitants of *Calais* to understand, that the Truce being made with *England*, and not with *Edward's* Person, the changing of the King was not a sufficient Motive to break it. By that he intimated that his Master disliked not the Revolution.

Posture of
the Duke of
Burgun-
dy's Affairs

It is certain that it was greatly for the Duke's Interest to keep fair with the *English*. But the better to understand the Perplexity which *Edward's* Retreat into his Dominions threw him into, it will be necessary to know the Posture his Affairs were in. By the Treaty *Lewis XI* had signed at *Peronne*, he had promised to give in *Appennage* to the Duke of *Berry* his Brother, *Champagne* and *Brie* in lieu of *Normandy* which he had taken from him. This Engagement gave him no small Concern. He plainly perceived that the Duke of *Burgundy's* Aim was to have Prince *Charles* for his Neighbour, that he might be able by his Means to stir up Commotions in *France*, whenever he should think fit. But it was likewise for the same Reason that he himself wanted to keep his Brother at a Distance from the Duke. To extricate himself out of this Difficulty, he tried to persuade the Duke of *Berry* to accept of *Guienne* and the Town of *Rochelle*, instead of *Champagne*, and in order to compass his Ends he bribed all those who had any Credit about him. The Duke of *Burgundy* being informed of the Matter, opposed it to the utmost of his Power, by causing it to be represented to the Duke of *Berry*, how much that Exchange would be to his Prejudice. But perceiving that his Reasons had but little Effect, he insinuated to him by some private Emissaries, that if he would demand his only Daughter in Marriage, he would certainly obtain her, and might, to prevent any Opposition from the King his Brother, retire into *England* till the Marriage was concluded. This Negotiation had been so far carried on, that at the Duke of *Burgundy's* Instance, *Edward* had already ordered a *Safe-Conduet* to be drawn up for that Prince. But these Measures were broken, since the Duke of *Berry*, prevailed upon by his treacherous Counsellors,

A. Pub.
XI. 644.

Counsellors, determined at length to accept of the Exchange, offered him by the King his Brother.

Upon this the Duke of *Burgundy* grew cool in the Business of the proposed Marriage, which could no longer be subservient to his Designs. Mean while the Duke of *Bretagne* and the Constable of *St. Paul*, who had been deeply concerned in the Negotiation, were extremely desirous to bring it to a happy Issue. As they loved not the King, they considered that this Match would be an infallible Means to keep up between the two Brothers, a Dissension from which they hoped to reap great Benefit. There was nothing wanting but the Duke of *Burgundy's* Consent; and as they saw he was very backward in the Matter, they attempted to bring him to it by an extraordinary Method. They made as if they were dissatisfied with the Duke, and advised the King of *France* to wage War with him, assuring him they would assist him to the utmost of their Power. Their Aim was to proffer the Duke, when he should come to be hard pressed, to espouse his Quarrel, on Condition he should give his Daughter in Marriage to the Duke of *Guienne*. *Lewis XI* desired nothing better than to see the Duke of *Burgundy* and *Bretagne* at Variance. Besides, he most earnestly wanted to wrest out of the Duke of *Burgundy's* Hands the Towns upon the *Somme*, which had been yielded to him by the Treaty of *Conflans*. He would not however have attempted to fall upon him, for fear the Duke of *Bretagne* and the Constable would have raised Disturbances in the Kingdom, whilst he should be employed elsewhere. But the Moment he thought himself safe from that Quarter, he resolved upon the War, as having no Intelligence of their Plot. Before he proceeded openly, he sent private Emissaries to the Towns he wanted to recover, in order to win the principal Burghers to his Side. It must be observed, that the Duke of *Burgundy* kept but slender Garrisons in his Towns, and upon the Peace, disbanded his Troops to spare the Purses of his Subjects.

Comin.
Argent.

Comin.

Lewis

1470.
Lewis XI.
declares
War against
Burgundy.
Mezerai.

Lewis having laid all his Plots, assembled the *Estates* at *Tours* in the Month of *March* 1470, where upon frivolous Complaints brought by the Earl of *Eu* against the Duke of *Burgundy*, he got the Duke summoned to appear before the *Court of Peers*, and sent the Citation by a Summoner of the Parliament. The Duke not appearing, he proclaimed War against him, and took from him *St. Quentin*, where the Constable of *St. Paul* entered without any Opposition. *Amiens* opened her Gates to the King by the like Practices, and the Duke was very near losing *Abbeville* also.

The Duke
is afraid of
incensing
the Earl of
Warwick.

Such was the Posture of the Duke of *Burgundy's* Affairs, when *Edward* came for Refuge into his Country. He saw himself attacked unawares by the King of *France*, and presently after the Earl of *Warwick* sent four Thousand Men to *Calais* to join the *French*, or make a Diversion. Wherefore the Duke could do nothing more opposite to his own Interest, than to exasperate the Earl of *Warwick* by protecting *Edward*. It is not to be wondered at therefore, if *Edward* endured some Mortifications during his Refuge. It was necessary for the Duke of *Burgundy's* Interest, that it should be believed in *England* that he was sorry to see him, and had no Mind at all to give him Protection. But in private he promised him Assistance as soon as he should be able to do it with safety.

Edward's
Discourse
with the
Duke of
Burgundy.

This politick Proceeding did not serve *Edward's* Turn. He could have wished that the Duke of *Burgundy* would have openly declared for him, imagining that such a Declaration would have conduced mightily to the keeping alive his Party in *England*. At length, finding that the Duke remained stedfast in his Resolution, and that his Dutcheſs's Instances made no Impression upon his Mind, he demanded a private Audience. The Duke not being able to deny him, he represented to him, “ That a longer Delay would be
“ extremely prejudicial to him; That he should lose
“ his Friends and Creatures in *England*, whilst the Earl of
“ *Warwick* was daily strengthening himself in the Power
“ he usurped; That therefore there was no middle
“ Way

“ Way between assisting him speedily, and abandon-
 “ ing him to his Ill-Fortune. Then he imparted to
 “ him the Promises which the Duke of *Clarence*
 “ his Brother had made him. And added, it was ab-
 “ solutely necessary to make haste, lest that Prince
 “ who was of a fickle Temper, should happen to al-
 “ ter his Mind, or the Earl of *Warwick* diving at
 “ length into his Design, should hinder him from put-
 “ ting it in Execution, by removing him from the
 “ Government. To these Reasons which concerned
 “ him in particular, he added the Consideration of
 “ their mutual Oath, whereby they were bound to
 “ give one another Proofs of a sincere Friendship and
 “ a speedy Assistance in Time of Need. Moreover he
 “ intreated him to reflect that in acting for him, he
 “ would promote at the same time the Good of his own
 “ Family, which might one Day stand in need of Aid ;
 “ not to reckon the Honour which would redound
 “ to him by restoring a King his Brother-in-law to
 “ the Throne. Finally, he positively promised to en-
 “ ter into a strict Alliance with him against *France*
 “ the Moment he was restored, adding that such a
 “ League was the right way to withstand their com-
 “ mon Enemy. He concluded with letting him see
 “ that the Course he had taken to dissemble the Mat-
 “ ter, would never be able to produce the Effect he
 “ intended, since it would not hinder *Lewis* and the
 “ Earl of *Warwick* from endeavouring together to
 “ work his Ruin.

The Duke of *Burgundy* found himself moved by this
 Discourse. He perceived that in Effect there was no
 middle Way in the Alternative *Edward* had proposed
 to him. Above all, he seriously considered what that
 Prince had said to him in the last Place, that he could
 not expect to be able to repulse the Attacks of the King
 of *France*, without the help of *England*, which could
 not be expected but by *Edward's* Restoration. That
 on the contrary, by deserting him, he should run the
 Risk of seeing *France* and *England* unite all their For-
 ces against him. But on the other Side, he considered

*The Duke of
 Burgundy
 resolves to
 assist Ed-
 ward.*

1470. that he could give *Edward* but a very poor Assistance, considering the present Posture of his own Affairs. That it was to be feared, that this Attempt happening to miscarry, he should furnish the Earl of *Warwick* with a plausible Pretence to attack him. In this Perplexity he bethought himself of an Expedient whereby he imagined he should be able at the same Time to salve the Appearances with *Warwick*, and give some small Assistance to the fugitive King. He caused four large Ships to be fitted out at *Vere*, a free Port in *Holland*, under other People's Names, to whom he remitted Money. Moreover he privately hired fourteen Ships of the *Easterlings*, to convoy the King of *England*, and to keep upon the Coasts fifteen Days after his Landing, that he might re-embark in case of Necessity. Then having put into *Edward's* Hands a good round Sum of Money, he left him in *Holland*, and went himself into *Flanders*. When all these Ships were ready, *Edward* having disappeared, notice was sent of it to the Duke, who immediately ordered Proclamation to be made, that none of his Subjects should assist him directly or indirectly upon Pain of Death. But in all Appearance, if *Edward's* Attempt had miscarried, the Earl of *Warwick* would not have been cheated by this Artifice.

Warwick
has some
Intimations
of *Ed-
ward's*
Design.
Act. Pub.
XI. 676.

What Care soever *Edward* and the Duke of *Burgundy* could take to keep their Designs private, the Earl of *Warwick* had received some Intelligence of them. It was too much for his Interest to have good Spies in *Holland*, to neglect so necessary a Point. It appears in the *Collection of the Publick Acts*, that on the 21st of *December*, the Marquis of *Montague* had Orders to levy Troops in the *North*, on pretence of a Rebellion, which Historians make no mention of. Apparently, it was only a Precaution which the Earl of *Warwick* took upon some general Advices that something was hatching in *Holland*.

1471.
He is made
High-Ad-
miral.
p. 679.

The 2d of *January* 1471, the Earl of *Warwick* was made High-Admiral. Without doubt he was afraid to trust to another's Care the fitting out a Fleet which he fore-

foresaw he should want, if the Duke of *Burgundy* attempted to assist *Edward* with open Force. The Advices which came from *Holland* being somewhat more certain than they had been hitherto, the Duke of *Clarence*, who was by no means suspected of holding Intelligence with his Brother, was commissioned to raise an Army to oppose his Designs in case he should return into the Kingdom.

1470.
Clarence
levies
Troops,
p. 680.

These Measures being taken, the Earl of *Warwick* made haste to conclude with *Lewis XI.* an Alliance, which had been projected some time since. But as it was a difficult Point to make an Alliance with a Prince that was in an actual War with *England*, and as a Peace could not be concluded by reason of *Henry's* Pretensions to the Crown of *France*, a long Truce was resolved upon, which was almost equivalent to a Peace. In the Treaty made upon this Occasion, it was agreed that the Truce should last till one of the two Parties had a mind to break it, in which case he was to give the other notice five Years beforehand. It was further agreed, that a Place should be appointed to treat about a final Peace. *Lewis XI.* was pleased, I know not for what reason, that the Duke of *Guienne* his Brother should be particularly included in this Treaty.

Truce be-
tween Eng-
land and
France,
p. 681, 683.

The same Day the Treaty was signed, the *Grand Prior* of the Order of *St. John of Jerusalem* set out for *France* to fetch *Queen Margaret* and the Prince of *Wales*.

P. 693.

Shortly after the Earl of *Warwick*, either out of Love to the Duke of *Clarence* his Son-in-law, or to attach that Prince the faster to the King's Side, restored him to the Government of *Ireland*, with several *Mansors* in *England* which had been forfeited by *Edward's* Adherents. The Marquis of *Montague* and *Jasper Tudor* Earl of *Pembroke* had likewise a Share in the King's Favours.

Grants to
the Duke of
Clarence,
&c.
p. 699, 700.

Mean while, *Edward* having finished all his Preparations, set sail from the Port of *Vere* about the middle of the Month of *March*, bringing along with him Two

Edward
sets sail.
Biond.
Habing,

1470.
He lands at
Raven-
spur, and is
coldly re-
ceived.

He takes
only the Ti-
tle of Duke.

The Reason
of it.

Thousand Men. He landed at *Ravenspur*, where *Henry IV.* had formerly landed when he came to wrest the Crown from *Richard II.* He expected to be received with Acclamations: but contrary to his Expectation he found the Inhabitants of those Parts very much displeased at his coming. Some were well-affected to the *House of Lancaster*: Others, seeing *Edward* so poorly attended, were afraid of running too great risk in openly espousing his Cause. Mean while, as there were no regular Troops, he met with no Opposition. But that was not all that he wanted. He would fain have had the People come out to meet him, and increase the Bulk of his Army. This Disappointment obliging him to march with Circumspection, he caused a Rumour to be spread, that he was come only as Duke of *York* to claim the private Inheritance of his Family, which had been confiscated. *Henry IV.* had formerly made use of the same Artifices, but upon better Grounds, having been banished without just Cause. But if *Edward* had no Right to the Crown, as he seemed to own, he must have been guilty of having usurped it, and consequently could not justly complain that his Estate had been confiscated. The Reason why he did not carry his Pretensions any farther upon his Arrival in the Kingdom, seems to be this: He was fully persuaded that the People in general were much more inclined to him than to his Rival; but that the Magistrates were against him. Indeed, as soon as the Earl of *Warwick* had the Government in his Hands, after *Henry's* Restoration, his first Care was to fill all the Offices and Places with his Creatures. It was therefore convenient that *Edward* should furnish the People with a Pretence to countenance him, how slight soever it might be, that thereby he might oppose the Authority of the Magistrates, who would have had too great a Handle against him, had they been able to assure that he was come Sword in Hand, to snatch the Crown from the Head of the reigning King. Whereas by demanding only his private Patrimony, he moved the Compassion of the People, and gave them hopes that the Quarrel between the

the

the two *Houses* might at length be determined, by restoring to him the Inheritance. Be that as it will, *Edward*, though little pleased with the Peoples Coldness, marched towards *York*, giving *Henry* every where the Title of *King*, and stiling himself only *Duke*.

1471.
He marches
to York.

The News of *Edward's* landing having reached the Court, the Duke of *Clarence* and the Earl of *Warwick* departed from *London* to go and levy Forces: At the same time the Magistrates of the Towns were ordered to shut their Gates upon the Enemy, and the Marquis of *Montague*, who kept at *Pontfract* with a Body of Troops, had Orders to go and fight *Edward* before he should reach *York*. But the Marquis, for what Reason is unknown, continued in his Post without making one Motion to hinder his March. Some ascribe this Conduct to his Ignorance of what Forces *Edward* had with him. But what likelihood is there that he should want good Intelligence upon so important an Occasion? Others tax him with Cowardice: but he was one of the bravest Lords in the Kingdom. Others believe there was a good Understanding between him and *Edward*: but the Sequel shewed the contrary. They that reason upon the most probable Grounds say, That *Montague*, imagining *Edward* would not return into *England* without a good Prospect of being restored, resolved to steer this Course, in order to make his Peace with him. And supposing his Attempt should miscarry, *Montague* did not despair of appeasing the Earl his Brother.

Warwick
prepares to
beat him
back.
Act. Pub.
XI. 705.

The deplorable
Behaviour of
Montague.

The apparent
Reasons
of it.

Mean while *Edward* being come near *York*, two of the *Aldermen* came out to meet him, and intreated him in the Name of the Magistrates to march another way, representing to him, that they could not receive into their City a Prince that was come to take the Crown from their lawful King. *Edward*, pursuant to the Plan he had formed, replied, That he was not come to take the Crown from the King: That seeing the People had declared for *Henry*, he acknowledged him for his Sovereign, and had no Intention to do him any Prejudice: That he was come purely to request the King for the Resti-

Edward
upon his ap-
proach to
York, is
desired to
take ano-
ther Rout.
He answers
with great
Moderation.

tution

1471.

tution of his Estate, not with an Army to use Force, but only with a few Followers, to screen him from the Malice of his Enemies: That the Parliament should be the Judge of his Cause; and that he desired only the Means to pass his Days quietly in the Allegiance becoming a good Subject: That as for the rest, the Inhabitants of *York* should of all others be the last to deny him Entrance, since the Lands he held in the *County*, as well as the Title of *Duke of York* which he bore, made him their Countryman. In fine, that he besought them to call to mind the Favours which on several Occasions the City had received from his Family.

The People
oblige the
Magistrates
to admit
him.

Deputies
are sent to
him.

He swears
to be faith-
ful to Hen-
ry.

The Aldermen returned with this Answer, which was not sufficient to satisfy the Magistrates devoted as they were to the Earl of *Warwick*. But the Friends *Edward* had in the City, having persuaded the People that it would be too cruel to refuse admittance to a Prince that submitting himself to the King and Parliament, was come only to demand his own Inheritance, there was such a Commotion in the City, that the Magistrates were not able to appease it. All they could get of the People was, that Deputies should be sent to *Edward* to make Terms with him, in order to preserve as much as possible the Rights of the King, and save the City from plunder. The Deputies found *Edward* ready to promise whatever they desired of him. He protested to them that he was sincere, and assured them that he would do no damage to the City, and would always remain faithful to the King. Whereupon the Gates were opened to him, and entering the City he went to the *Cathedral*, and confirmed his Engagements with a solemn Oath. Every thing being thus transacted with a great deal of Mildness and Moderation on his Part, he borrowed some Money of the Citizens, and leaving a Garrison behind, he went from thence in order for *London*. During the short stay he made at *York* his Army was greatly increased. He would not however have ventured to march towards *London*, had he not expected it would continue to in-crease

crease as he went along, and that the Duke of *Clarence* would not break his Word. 1471.

Whilst these Things were doing, the Duke of *Clarence* and the Earl of *Warwick* were parted in order to go and draw their Forces together. Their Design was to join their Troops into one Body, and to set at their Head the Prince of *Wales*, Son of *Henry*, who was expected from *France*. The Earl of *Warwick* thought he had leisure enough to prepare and join the Duke of *Clarence*, not doubting but that *Montague* his Brother would be strong enough to stop *Edward*. But contrary to his Expectation, he heard that *Montague* had let him pass without Opposition; and that his Army increased continually upon the March, great Numbers of Officers and Soldiers coming in to him from all Parts of the Kingdom. This News startled him exceedingly. He could not tell what to think of *Montague's* behaving so faintly in a Matter of such Moment. He used Dissimulation however, and having sent him express Orders to come and join him, and desired the Duke of *Clarence* to advance with all possible Speed, he resolved to incamp near *Coventry*, and there expect *Edward*. His Design was to follow him in case he was so bold as to come between him and the Duke of *Clarence*, or to amuse him in those Parts till his two other Bodies should arrive. Indeed *Montague* began his March to go and join his Brother, and the Duke of *Clarence* having likewise moved forward, kept within distance, as if he intended to do the same.

Clarence and Warwick command each an Army.
Act. Pub. XI. 706.

Montague lets Edward pass.

Warwick encamps at Coventry.

The Duke is in reach to join him.

Mean while, *Edward* who was now come about *Coventry*, approached the Earl of *Warwick's* Intrenchments, making as if he would attack them. The Earl finding himself weak, sent frequent Expresses to the Duke of *Clarence* to desire him to advance with all the Expedition possible. But the Duke still found some Excuse to put off their joining. Whilst the two Armies were thus in sight, and just ready in all appearance to engage, the Duke of *Gloucester* rid forth from the Camp of *Edward* his Brother, with a few Attendants, and went directly to the Duke of *Clarence* without having sent

Edward makes as if he would attack him.

The Duke of Clarence joins Edward.

1471. sent for a *Safe-Conduct*. At their first Meeting they tenderly embraced one another. Then, after a short Conference, the Duke of *Clarence* caused *Edward* to be proclaimed in his Army, the principal Officers whereof he had gained before-hand. The same Day, *Edward* put himself at the Head of his Troops, and went and joined the Duke of *Clarence* with all the Marks of a mutual Friendship.

*The Duke
offers his
Mediation
to the Earl,
who rejects
it.*

This was a stunning Blow for the Earl of *Warwick*, who little expected it. However, in spite of this cross Accident which would have disheartened any Man but him, he could not stoop to hearken to any Proposals of an Accommodation, though the Duke of *Clarence* offered him his Mediation. But such a Mediator that had just betrayed him openly, could not but be suspected by him. As his Army would be soon reinforced by *Montague's* Troops, and as he was strongly intrenched, he did not think it best to be too hasty to treat about an Accommodation, which could not but be very disadvantageous to him. Besides, he was in hopes that *London*, where he had left the Duke of *Somerset* and the Archbishop of *York*, would shut her Gates against *Edward*, in case he went and appeared before the City. If he should do so, he was resolved to follow him immediately after *Montague's* Arrival, and put him under a necessity either of retiring elsewhere, or of joining Battle at the Gates of the Capital with a manifest Disadvantage. But these Measures proved not very just.

*Edward
marches
towards
London.*

Presently after the joining of the two Brothers, it was debated whether they should attack the Earl of *Warwick* in his Intrenchments, or march directly to *London*, and the last was deemed most convenient. First, because *Edward* having a great many Friends in the City, it was likely that seeing him approach at the Head of a strong Army, they would use their Endeavours to gain him admittance, and that the Earl of *Warwick's* Distance would very much further their Attempt. Secondly, nothing could be more for *Edward's* Advantage than to have *London* on his side. He stood in need of Money, and could not easily find it any where else. Moreover, he could

could not absolutely rely upon his *Restoration*, as long as he was not Master of the Metropolis. Lastly, it was of great Moment to him to have *Henry* in his Power. He began his March then for *London*, leaving the Earl of *Warwick* behind him, not without danger of being reduced to great straits, in case the *Londoners* refused to let him in.

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As soon as the News had reached *London*, that the two Brothers were joined, and were approaching the City, the Earl of *Warwick* was given over for lost. This Belief inspired the People with a Terror which *Edward's* Friends took care to foment, by aggravating the Danger the City was in, of being exposed to *Edward's* Indignation, unless it was averted by a speedy Submission. At the same time they that after *Edward's* Flight had taken *Sanctuary* in *Westminster-Abbey*, came out and backed that Prince's Interest. On the other Hand, those that were against him durst hardly open their Mouths, for fear their Endeavours should turn to their Destruction. So that without staying for the Resolution of the Magistrates, the People were ready to open the Gates to *Edward*, and run out to meet him. In vain would the Duke of *Somerset* and the Archbishop of *York* have opposed this Resolution: they were not heard. To no purpose did they assure the People that the Earl of *Warwick* would come to their Relief in three Days: *Edward's* Army, which was just at the Gates of the City, made them believe quite the contrary. In fine, *Edward's* Party having prevailed by far, the People went out in Crowds to receive him with Acclamations, which, whether real or feigned, did his Business effectually. Whilst the People were taken up with receiving *Edward*, *Henry's* Friends withdrew from the City, and not a Man of them bethought himself of helping that unfortunate Prince to make his Escape.

The Londoners are determined to receive Edward.

Edward enters the City.

Edward entered *London* on the 11th of *April*, and immediately thanked the People for the Affection they had expressed for him, and promised to have it in everlasting Remembrance. He backed his Promise with

1471. several Acts of Clemency which entirely won him the Hearts of the Citizens. In the mean Time *Henry*, who had not found Means to escape, and who perhaps had not so much as thought of it, was sent again to the *Tower*, from whence he had been taken seven Months before to re-ascend the Throne.



Continuation of the Reign of EDWARD IV.

Edward
goes out to
meet War-
wick.

Warwick
resolves to
fight.

E D W A R D had not Time to make a long stay at London. Two Days after his coming, he departed to put himself at the Head of his Army, having heard that the Earl of *Warwick* was advanced as far as *St. Albans*. Undoubtedly the Earl was at a great Loss what to do. He had decamped from *Coventry*, and marched with great speed in hopes that the City of *London* would keep *Edward* at least a few Days before the Walls, and that the News of his Approach would hinder the Inhabitants from letting him in. But he saw the Metropolis lost, King *Henry* in Prison, and the whole Kingdom, as one may say, ready to declare for his Enemy. In this Extremity there was no other Remedy for him but to fight and vanquish *Edward*. The obtaining a Battle was the only means of restoring his Affairs. But on the other Hand, although he had a pretty good Army, yet was it far from being so strong as *Edward's*, which increased moreover every Day, since he was Master of *London*. Besides the Conduct of the Marquis of *Montague* his Brother was so mysterious, that he could not tell what to think of it. He called to Mind that it was not without Difficulty that he came into the Project of dethroning *Edward*, and that lately he had twice neglected to fight him, upon Occasions wherein he should have run all hazards. It is true, he was come to join him; but this was what increased

increased his Suspicions the more. The Example of the Duke of *Clarence* his Son-in-law made him apprehensive that his own Brother had suffered himself to be corrupted. In this State of Fear and Doubt he would willingly have dismissed him, if he had not been afraid to discourage his Army. In fine, after many Reflections upon the Posture of his Affairs, Flight being difficult and dishonourable, and the Issue of the Battle yet uncertain, he concluded, that he had no other Course to take than to hazard a Battle and die honourably, in Case Victory declared for his Enemy. But at the same Time he was resolved to order it so, that the Marquis his Brother should run the same Hazard as himself, since it was the Event only that could assure him of his Fidelity. With this Resolution he marched from *St. Albans*, and having advanced to *Barnet*, which is but ten Miles from *London*, he met *Edward* who was moving forward with Design to fight. There it was that upon the 14th of *April* being *Easter-Day*, a terrible Battle was fought, which decided the Fate of the two contending Parties. *Edward* had brought *Henry* along with him, not having dared to trust any Person with the Custody of him. Thus that unfortunate Prince seemed to be born only to be the sport of Fortune. Happy in that the natural Imbecillity of his Mind made him look upon his Misfortunes with less Concern than any other Man would have done.

*He makes
towards
London.*

The Battle began early in the Morning, and lasted till Noon. Never perhaps had two Armies been seen to fight with more Bravery and Obstinacy. Each Man considering himself as a Rebel in Case the Enemy was victorious, no one expected any Favour. Every Body was too well acquainted with the Barbarity usually practised in Civil Wars, and more especially in this, wherein the sundry Revolutions in Favour of both Parties, had carried Rage and Animosity to the highest Degree. This in all likelihood was the true Cause of the Battle lasting so long. The Earl of *Warwick's* Troops, though inferior in Number, fought desperately, being determined by the Example of their General,

*The Battle
of Barnet ;
Warwick
and Mon-
tague de-
feated and
slain.*

1471.

*Cause of
Edward's
Victory.*

ral, either to conquer or die. They had even ground to flatter themselves for some Time, that Victory was going to declare in their Favour. Some Squadrons of Horse, which the Earl of *Warwick* detached from the third *Line*, gained so much Ground upon their Enemies, that several of them rode away full speed to *London* with the News of their Defeat. But *Edward* not losing the Presence of Mind so necessary to a General on such perillous Cases, ordered a Body of Reserve to move forward, who falling upon the Enemies now victorious in the Flank, put them in extreme Disorder. The small Number of Troops the Earl of *Warwick* had suffered him not to make a Detachment to oppose that Body. At the same Time the Earl of *Oxford* who had beat hack *Edward's* Troops, considering he had left the Line where he was posted too much exposed, wheeled about to return to his Post. This Precaution, as prudent as it was, proved the Occasion of the Earl of *Warwick's* losing the Day. The Earl of *Oxford's* Badge upon his Arms and Colours was a *Star with Streams*, and *Edward's* Devise was a *Sun*. A small Mist which arose after the Fight began, having hindered the Earl of *Warwick's* Troops from discerning the Difference, they furiously charged these Squadrons as they were coming back to their Post, and put them to rout before the Earl of *Oxford* had Time to remove their Error. This brought extreme Disorder upon the Army. Some imagining they were betrayed, because they were attacked by their own Side, ran away in Confusion towards the Enemies. Others seeing them fly that Way, fancied they were attacked in the Rear, and knew not what Course to take. Mean while *Edward* making Advantage of this Mistake, cut in Pieces the Troops that fled towards him. The Earl of *Warwick* perceiving the Disorder, did his utmost to remedy it, but it was to no purpose. In fine, willing to animate his Troops by his Example, he rushed, on Foot as he was, among the thickest of his Enemies, where he quickly fell all covered with Wounds. The Marquis of *Montague* his Brother, desirous to rescue him, perished in

in the Attempt a few Moments after him. Thus ended the Battle about Noon, by the entire rout of *Warwick's* Army, ten Thousand whereof were slain on the Spot. It is said that *Edward*, who in all the other Battles, was wont to make Proclamation before the Fight, that the common Soldiers should be spared, and the Officers put to the Sword, had ordered now that no Quarter should be given. The Earl of *Oxford* and the Duke of *Somerset* fled into *Wales* to the Earl of *Pembroke*, who was levying Troops for the Earl of *Warwick*. The Duke of *Exeter* was left for dead among the slain; but coming to Life again, he crawled to the next House, from whence he found means to be carried to *London*, where he took Sanctuary in *Westminster-Abbey*.

Oxford and Somerset escape.

Exeter is wounded.

This was the Issue of that bloody Day, and such was the End of the famous Earl of *Warwick*, who since the beginning of the Quarrel between the *Houses of Lancaster* and *York*, had made in *England* so great a Figure as no Subject had ever done the like before him. In a Word, he had made and unmade Kings just as he pleased. This is the most glorious Thing that could be said of a private Man, if true Glory consisted in Excess of Power *.

Edward having thus obtained a complete Victory which seemed to assure him of the Crown, returned to *London* where he was received in Triumph. The Inhabitants could not express their Joy to see themselves freed from the Danger they would have been exposed to, if the Earl of *Warwick* had won the Battle. The King's first Care was to go and return God Thanks for his Victory at *St. Paul's Church*, after which he ordered the unfortunate *Henry* to be sent back to his old Prison. A few Days after, he granted a Pardon to the Archbishop of *York*, apparently not to incense the Clergy by the punishing of one of their principal Members. Besides, he called to Mind the great Ser-

Edward returns to London.

The Archbishop of York is pardoned. A& Pub. Vice XI. 709.

* After being exposed three Days to all Comers, his Body was conveyed to *Bisham-Abby* in *Berkshire*.

1471. vice that Prelate had done him, though it may be more out of Negligence than Affection, in letting him escape out of his Confinement at *Middleham*.

Queen
Margaret
arrives
with the
Prince.

She swoons
as the News
of the De-
feat,

and takes
Sanctuary.

Her Friends
come to her
and exhort
her to try
her Fortune
once more.

Whilst these Things were doing, Queen *Margaret* who was just arrived from *France* in *Dorsetshire*, saw herself in a very woful Condition. She had scarce Time to refresh herself two Days, when she received the fatal News of the Defeat and Death of the Earl of *Warwick*. Though she had hitherto bravely withstood all the Attacks of Fortune, she was so affected with this last Blow that she fell into a Swoon, out of which she recovered with great Difficulty. She saw in an Instant all the Consequences, and perceiving there was no Remedy left, she gave way to her Grief, and lost upon this Occasion that wonderful Firmness of Mind for which she had all along been so gloriously distinguished. So that yielding to her unhappy Lot, and not thinking but to save the Prince her Son, she took Sanctuary in the Abbey of *Beaulieu* in *Hampshire*. She was still in the Agonies of Grief which this fatal Accident had thrown her into, when she saw arrive the Duke of *Somerset*, *John Beaufort* his Brother, the Earls of *Pembroke* and *Devonshire*, and the Lord *Wenlock*. The two last had been in *Edward's* Interest, and unluckily for them they had deserted him. The Queen had also with her the *Grand Prior* of *St. John's*, who was sent to *France* to Conduct her to *England*. All these Lords, and several other Officers of Distinction which attended them, strove to comfort her and revive her Hopes. They represented to her, “ That she had no reason
“ yet to despair; That indeed *Edward* was victorious;
“ but then he might be vanquished another Time;
“ That the Kingdom still abounding with Friends to
“ King *Henry*, it was not so hard as she imagined to
“ form a new Army capable of putting a stop to the
“ Progress of the Usurper; That as one Battle won
“ had restored him to the Throne, so another lost
“ might tumble him down again; That the sundry
“ Revolutions for and against the two Houses since
“ the Quarrel began, were a Lesson to her that there
“ was

“ was still Hopes, provided she would not by an un-
 “ seasonable Fear, relinquish her own Interests with
 “ those of the King and the Prince her Son ; *That* her
 “ Armies had been frequently victorious under her
 “ Conduct, and it was by no means impossible but that
 “ Victory should once more incline to her Side : Lastly,
 “ *That* all the World considered the Prince of *Wales*
 “ as the undoubted Heir of the Crown, and that by
 “ setting him at the Head of the Army, there was
 “ room to hope for a lucky Turn.

If *Margaret* was afraid to expose herself once more to the Vicissitude of Fortune, it was not upon her own Account. It was the Prince her Son that was the Cause of all her Uneasiness. Her Tendernefs for him made her look forward to all the fatal Consequences of the Undertaking proposed to her, in Case it should not be crowned with Success. She plainly perceived he could not attempt to recover the Crown of his Ancestors, without hazarding at the same Time his own Life, and that Consideration was so grievous to her, that it hindered her from coming to any Resolution. In this Perplexity, she proposed the sending of the Prince into *France*, that in Case the Enterprize succeeded, he might reap the Fruits of it, and if it miscarried, he might at least be in safety. But the Duke of *Somerset* represented to her, that it was chiefly upon the Presence of the Prince that he could build his Hopes, which alone would be enough to draw Multitudes into his Service, and would induce his Troops to fight stoutly for him. At length the Queen, after having endured a violent Conflict in her Soul between the Fear of losing her Son, and the Desire of procuring him a Crown which she believed was his lawful Right, consented to follow the Advice of her Friends.

She would put her Son out of Danger.

The Duke of Somerset is against it.

She yields to him.

This Resolution being taken, it was agreed, that the Queen and Prince should retire to *Bath*, and the rest should go and draw together their Friends, with the Remains of the Earl of *Warwick's* Army. The Earl of *Pembroke* undertook to levy an Army in *Wales*, where his Interest was great, and sat out immediately, having

The Speed wherewith the Lancastrians levy a fresh Army.

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having first desired the Duke of *Somerſet* who was to command in Chief under the Prince of *Wales*, to run no hazard till he ſhould be joined by the *Welſh*. The ſuddenneſs wherewith all theſe Lords levied or aſſembled their Troops, would be moſt ſurpriſing, did not a Man conſider in the firſt Place, the aſtoniſhing Effects which *Hatred* and *Revenge* uſually produce, eſpecially in *Civil Wars*. In the next Place it muſt be conſidered, that the Remains of the Earl of *Warwick's* Army having diſperſed themſelves after the Battle of *Barnet*, wanted only a Leader to head them. Laſtly, as it was but a few Days ſince the Battle, it was not yet known how the Conqueror would behave towards the vanquiſhed. So that the moſt Part having greater Reason to expect Severity than Mercy, choſe rather to venture their Lives in a Battle, than run the risk of loſing them on the Gibbet and Scaffold. Be this as it will, it appears by the *Collection of the Publick Acts*, that on the 27th of *April*, that is to ſay, thirteen Days after the Battle of *Barnet*, the *Lancaſtrian* Lords had already drawn an Army together.

*Proclamation
againſt
the Queen.
A&C. Pub.
XI. 709.*

Upon the ſame Day, as appears by the Date, *Edward* iſſued out a *Proclamation*, ſetting forth that his Title to the Crown was unqueſtionable: Firſt, as it was founded on Juſtice and Equity: Secondly, as it was confirmed by ſeveral Parliaments. In the third Place, that his Victories, and eſpecially the laſt, wherein the Marquiſs of *Montague*, and the Earl of *Warwick* were ſlain, were ſo many Demonſtrations of his Right: That however, notwithſtanding theſe three Foundations, than which nothing could be more firm, namely, *Juſtice*, *Parliamentary Authority*, and *Victory*, ſundry Perſons had taken up Arms againſt him. But that in order to avoid the Effuſion of more Blood, he had thought proper to give his People a Liſt of the Names of thoſe Perſons which were pronounced *Traitors* and *Rebels*, to the End that they who aſſiſted them might not complain if any Miſchief befell them. The Perſons proſcribed were *Margaret* ſtiling herſelf *Queen of England*, *Edward* her Son, the Duke of *Exeter*, the Duke

Duke of *Somerset*, *John* Earl of *Oxford*, *John* Courtney Earl of *Devonshire*, *William* Viscount de *Beaumont*, *John* Beaufort Brother of the Duke of *Somerset*, *Hugh* Courtney, with eleven others.

Mean while *Edward* lost no Time. As his Troops were in a readiness to march, he went and put himself at their Head. with Design to give his Enemies Battle, before the Earl of *Pembroke* should join them with the *Welsh* Succours. How diligent soever the Lords confederated with the Queen had been, they were far from being in so good a Posture as the King, it not being possible but that they should be in want of Arms and Ammunition. And therefore, knowing that *Edward* was coming in quest of them, they resolved to retire into *Wales*, where the Situation of the Country would help them to avoid fighting as long as they pleased. Besides, they expected to be joined very soon by the Earl of *Pembroke*, and then should be in a Condition to give Battle. The Business was to pass the *Severn* before the King should reach them, and to that Purpose they marched to *Gloucester*. But that City having shut her Gates upon them, and there being no likelihood of their taking it at the first Assault, much less of their being able to besiege it in Form, they resolved to go and pass the *Severn* at *Tewkesbury*. Mean Time *Edward* so closely pursued them, that upon their Arrival at *Tewkesbury* they debated whether they should venture to pass the River, at the risk of seeing their Rear-Guard put to rout, or whether they should intrench themselves in a Park adjoining to the Town, till the Earl of *Pembroke* should join them. The Queen, who thought of nothing but the Prince's safety, was for passing. Some others, more out of Complaisance to her than for any good Reason, backed her Opinion. But the Duke of *Somerset* was utterly against it. He represented, that the Enemy was so near at Hand, that before the Army could have done passing, he would certainly have it in his Power to attack them, and would cut in Pieces all those who should have the Misfortune to be left behind: That such an Accident, which seemed unavoidable,

Edward marches against her.

She would retire into Wales.

He overtakes her at Tewkesbury.

The Queen is for passing the Severn.

The Duke of Somerset is against it.

1471. avoidable, could not but prove very fatal, and discourage all those that were still Friends to *the House of Lancaster*: In fine, that although their Army was inferior in Number to the Enemy's, yet that Disadvantage might be made up by intrenching in the *Park*, and by drawing *Lines* which would counter-balance the Enemy's Odds. After a mature Debate, this Opinion was thought the most adviseable, considering the Circumstances of Time and Place. The Historians, of whom there are few that understand the Art of War, have taxed the Duke of *Somerſet* with Imprudence and Rashness, purely because they considered not the Difficulty of passing such a River as the *Severn* with the Enemy close at one's Heels. But if that General had been guilty of no other Fault but that, perhaps the Queen's Affairs would have taken another Turn. At least she might have been able to wait the Coming of the Earl of *Pembroke*, and by fighting upon equal Terms, to cause her Enemy to run his Share of the Risk. This is what will appear by the Sequel.

He intrenches himself by Tewkesbury. Edward resolves to attack him.

This Resolution being taken of expecting *Edward* without stirring, they worked all Night in making Intrenchments round the *Park*, which were finished before Day, so eager were they to secure themselves from all Surprise. *Edward* having approached in order to view them, judged that it was absolutely necessary to attack them before they had made themselves more hard to be come at, and before the Arrival of the Earl of *Pembroke*, who was expected every Moment. So, without loss of Time, he drew up his Army in two Lines. He gave the Command of the first to the Duke of *Gloucester* his younger Brother, and headed the second himself with the Duke of *Clarence*. The Duke of *Somerſet* ranged his Army behind the Intrenchments in three Bodies. The foremost whereof he would command himself, that he might sustain the first Shock. *Wenlock* conducted the second, under Prince *Edward*, who was looked upon as the Commander in chief. The Earl of *Devonſhire* was set at the Head of the third. *Edward* having taken a closer View of the Intrenchments,

ments, perceived they had left an open Place to go out at upon Occasion. This made him think that the Duke of *Somerſet* hoped that he ſhould repel the firſt Charge, and that if he obſerved any Diſorder among the Aſſailants, he had reſolved to fall out and improve the Advantage. And therefore, the more eaſily to draw him out of his Lines, he ordered the Duke of *Glouceſter* who was to begin the Fight, to fall back with ſome Precipitation, in caſe he ſhould meet with too ſtrong a Reſiſtance, and if he was purſued to face about, and vigorously attack thoſe that ſhould be come out againſt him, aſſuring him he ſhould be ſupported by all the reſt of the Army. This Order was grounded upon *Edward's* Knowledge of the Duke of *Somerſet's* Intrepidity, and good Opinion of himſelf.

Every thing being thus diſpoſed, the Duke of *Glouceſter* began the Attack of the Intrenchment with great Vigour. But finding that the Enemies ſtood their Ground, and appeared every where ready to bear his Aſſaults, he retreated toward the ſecond Line ſo haſtily, that the Duke of *Somerſet* verily believed that the whole Body was entirely diſheartned. Then it was that the Duke, not being able to curb the Impetuofity of his Courage, and thinking he ought to improve the preſent Advantage, fallied out of his Intrenchments with deſign to preſs the Enemy's Army, which he imagined to be already in Confuſion. At the ſame Time he ſent word to *Wenlock* to come out immediately and aſſiſt him. Mean while, the Duke of *Glouceſter* who had drawn up his Men again at a good Diſtance from the Intrenchments, ſeeing the Duke of *Somerſet* advancing towards him in good Order, ſaved him ſome Part of the Way. As he was ſure of being backed by the King his Brother who was not far off, he ran furiously upon the Troops that were coming againſt him, and by ſo vigorous and unexpected a Charge, he aſtoniſhed them to ſuch a Degree, that they ſaw no Remedy but to betake themſelves in Diſorder to their Camp. The Duke of *Somerſet* was in a Fury when he found he was not ſeconded. He had depended upon *Wenlock*, and inſtead

The Battle of Tewkeſbury.

False Step of the Duke of Somerſet.

1471.

*He kills
Wenlock.**The Duke
of Glou-
cester en-
ters the
Enemy's
Camp.**The Queen
is taken.*

of finding him without the Intrenchments with the second Line, to oppose the Duke of *Gloucester*, he beheld him idle in the very Place where he had first drawn up his Men. Whereupon not being able to bridle the Rage he was in, he ran furiously at him, and clove his Head in Pieces with his Battle-Axe.

Mean time, the Duke of *Gloucester* having entered the Enemy's Camp together with the Run-a-ways, made there a terrible Slaughter. *Wenlock* being dead, the young Prince knew not what to do, and the Duke of *Somerset* transported with Passion, was incapable of giving Orders, and making himself obeyed. Thus Confusion spread in a Moment in the Army, and the King, who was close upon the Heels of the Duke his Brother, having likewise entered the Camp, the Queen's Troops thought only of saving themselves by Flight, without making any further Resistance. It is said that the Queen was found in a Chariot half dead with Grief to see her forlorn Affairs, without knowing what was become of the Prince her Son, and that she was brought in that Condition to King *Edward*. An Historian however says, that it was not till a Day or two after the Battle that she was taken out of a *Nunnery* where she had fled for Refuge, and conducted to the King who was then at *Worcester*. In this Battle, which entirely secured the Crown to *Edward*, there fell on the Queen's Side but Three Thousand, because the two last Lines ran away without fighting. Among the slain was found the Earl of *Devonshire* and Sir *John Beaufort*, Brother of the Duke of *Somerset*. The Prince of *Wales*, the Duke of *Somerset*, and the grand Prior of *St. John's* were made Prisoners. But they had better died in fight, since they saved their Lives only to lose them in a less honourable Manner. The young Prince being brought into the King's Presence, appeared before him with an undaunted Countenance, without debasing himself by Submissions unbecoming his Birth. *Edward* was surpris'd at it, and more so, when, asking him how he came to be so bold to come thus in Arms into his Kingdom, the Prince replied,

That

That he was come to recover his own Inheritance which had been unjustly taken from him. Edward full of Indignation at his Boldness, struck him on the Mouth with his Gantlet, and turned his Back upon him. This was as it were the Signal to take away the Life of that unfortunate Prince. 'Tis said, that immediately upon the King's withdrawing, the Dukes of *Clarence* and *Gloucester* his Brothers, the Earl of *Dorset* and the Lord *Hastings*, fell upon the young Prince like wild Beasts, and stabbed him with their Daggers. It is certain that he was murdered that Instant, and in all appearance the King had given Orders beforehand for that barbarous Execution. But I don't know whether the Historians are to be credited that affirm these four Lords stabbed him with their own Hands. This might be an Effect of the Prejudice of those that wrote the History after the Restoration of *the House of Lancaster*, since it is certain, they have omitted nothing to render *the House of York* odious. It is likely however that the Murder was committed in the Presence of the Lords before-mentioned. Some tell us, that the Prince having escaped out of the Battle, the King offered a Pension of five Hundred Pounds Sterling to any Person that should bring him alive or dead, promising, if he was alive, not to put him to Death: That upon this Promise Sir *Richard Crofts*, in whose Hands he was fallen, brought him to the King, who was not as good as his word with him. The Prince lost his Life at Eighteen Years of Age *. Next Day the Duke of *Somerſet*, and the grand Prior of *the Order of St. John* were beheaded. Queen *Margaret* was shut up in the *Tower*, where she remained a Prisoner till 1475, when *Lewis XI.* ransomed her for fifty Thousand Crowns. Such was the sad Catastrophe of this Princess, who, for having attempted to rule *England* with an absolute Sway, caused a great deal of *English* Blood to be spilt, brought on the Ruin of herself, of the King her Spouse, of the Prince her Son, and of all the House

1471.

The Prince
is murdered
in cold
Blood.Remark
upon it.Somerſet
beheaded.

* He was buried without any Solemnity, among some mean Persons, in the Church of the *Black-Fryars* in *Templebury*.

1471. *House of Lancaster*, of which there remained only one tender Branch in the Person of the Earl of *Richmond*. One would think there was a sort of Fatality with regard to the Kings of *England* that took Wives of the Blood-Royal of *France*. *Edward II.* *Richard II.* *Henry VI.* and *Charles I.* were the only Persons that did so, and they all four underwent the same Lot, Three of them by the Fault of their Queens.

The Battle of *Tewkesbury* fought on the fourth of *May*, eighteen Days after that of *Barnet*, was the Twelfth since the Beginning of the Quarrel between the *Two Roses*. But it was not the last, though no other happened in the Residue of this Reign.

The Bastard
of Falcon-
bridge
rises against
the King.

Whilst *Edward* was busied in prosecuting the Queen, there arose a fresh Enemy against him. *Thomas Nevil*, known by the Name of *the Bastard of Falconbridge*, because he was natural Son of the Lord *Falconbridge*, had been made Vice-Admiral in *the Channel* during the Earl of *Warwick's* Administration, to whom he adhered. The Earl being dead, and King *Edward* re-inthroned, *the Bastard* had lost his Place. As he was a Man of ill Morals and without Means, he saw no other Course to take for his Subsistence but to turn Pyrate. When he found the King taken up in the *West* in pursuit of the Queen, he got together some Ships, and a good Number of People of desperate Fortunes, with whom he came upon the Coast of *Kent*, never dreaming that the War newly kindled would end so soon. His Design was to surprize *London*, and enrich himself with the Plunder of the City. With that view he began his March towards *London*, giving out, that he had no other Intent but to free King *Henry* from Captivity. On this Pretence, having drawn in many of the Friends of *the House of Lancaster*, he had formed an Army of Seventeen Thousand Men. He presently became Master of *Southwark*. At the same time, he ordered Part of his Troops to pass over on the other Side of the River, and assault two of the City Gates, whilst he himself attempted to force the Bridge. But the Citizens having had notice of his March, were upon their Guard,

He at-
tempts to
surprize
London.

He is repul-
sed;

Guard, and beat him back on all Sides. In the mean while, *the Bastard* having heard of the Success of the Battle of *Tewkesbury*, and knowing that the King was marching with all speed to *London*, retired in good Order to *Sandwich*, where he fortified himself. *Edward* being come to *London*, passed through the City without stopping, and marched as far as *Canterbury*, where *the Bastard* sent him word he was ready to submit, upon certain Terms which were immediately granted him. The King even Knighted him, and made him Vice-Admiral of *the Channel* as he was before. But he did not long enjoy these Favours. Shortly after he had his Head cut off, either for new Crimes or on account of his old ones.

1471.
and retired to
Sandwich.

The King
pardons
him;
and after-
wards cuts
off his
Head.

The Bishop
of Win-
chester is
pardoned.
Act. Pub.
XI. 711.

Edward being come to *London* on the 21st of *May*, after having won two Battles in less than three Weeks, granted an absolute Pardon to *William Wainfleet* Bishop of *Winchester*, who had been a zealous Friend of *the House of Lancaster*. But he had not the same Generosity for King *Henry*, Head of that *House*. The innocent Life of that unhappy Prince, one would have thought should have screened him from the Cruelty of his victorious Enemy. It was doubtless upon that Account that *Edward* had already spared his Life twice. It is even very likely that he would have suffered him to end his Days by a natural Death, had he believed he could have done it with safety. But he was afraid he should never enjoy a settled Peace, as long as that Prince was alive; and the Consideration of this made him resolve to get rid of him. It was properly Queen *Margaret* that hastened the Death of the King her Husband by her last Attempt to re-inthroned him. If she had won the Battle of *Tewkesbury*, and got *Edward* in her Power, it is scarce to be doubted but that she would have put him to Death on the Scaffold. She ought not therefore to think it very strange that the ill Success of her Enterprize should fall upon the Heads of her Husband and Son. It is even very probable that she herself was beholden to her Sex for her own Life. Be that as it will, *Edward* having resolved to sacrifice *Henry* to his Security,

Death of
Henry VI.
June.

1471. Security, ordered the Duke of *Gloucester*, to whom all the Historians unanimously give the Character of a brutish and bloody Prince, to put him to Death in Prison. It is affirmed, that the Duke would be the Father's Executioner as he had been the Son's, and that coming into his Room he himself plunged a Dagger into his Breast. But as I observed, it is good to receive with some Caution what the Historians say of the Princes of *the House of York*.

His Character.

Thus died *Henry VI.* in the Fiftieth Year of his Age, after having reigned Thirty-eight Years before he was dethroned, and Seven Months only after his Restoration. Never had Prince been the Occasion, though innocently, of more bloody Tragedies, or caused more Blood to be spilt in his Quarrel. Though his natural Weakness made him unfit to govern his Kingdom, and though for that reason he always gave himself up to the Guidance of others, yet had he some good Qualities, which they would fain have made pass after his Death for Virtues of the first Class. This was on purpose to render so much the more odious the Person that had bereaved him of his Crown and Life. All that one can truly say of this Prince is this, that to consider him in his private Capacity, his Life was Innocent, or at least free from the Crimes which are but too common in the World. But if a Man considers him as a Sovereign, he finds in his whole Life neither Bad nor Good. He founded *Eaton-College* near *Windsor*, and *King's-College* in *Cambridge*, for the Benefit of *Eaton-Scholars*. These two Foundations are still in being. As soon as he was dead, his Body was brought to *St. Paul's Church*, where it lay some time exposed to the View of all People, after which it was interred without any Pomp in a Village near *London* *.

His Foundations.

The

* In the Abbey of *Chertsey* in *Surry*, but it was afterwards removed by *Edward's* Order to *Windsor*, and there buried, and a Monument made over him.

The twelve Battles that had been fought since the Year 1455, and the barbarous Executions they were attended with, had reduced the House of *Lancaster* to two Persons only, namely, *Margaret* Daughter of *John* Duke of *Somerset*, and Wife to *Edmund* Tudor Earl of *Richmond* Half-Brother of *Henry* VI, and *Henry* Earl of *Richmond* her Son. *Margaret* had two other Husbands, *Henry* Earl of *Stafford* and *Thomas Stanley*; but she had no Children by them. I mention not *Charles Somerset* from whom the Earls of *Worcester* were derived, because being only natural Son of the *Beaufort Somerset* Family, he could have no Title to the Crown.

1471:
The Re-
mains of
the House
of Lancas-
ter.

Jasper Tudor Earl of *Pembroke*, Uncle of the young Earl of *Richmond*, not having been able to come Time enough to be at the Battle of *Tewkesbury*, was at a great Loss. As he found himself too weak to support alone the Interests of the *House of Lancaster*, he dismissed his Troops and kept with the Earl of *Richmond* his Nephew in *Wales*, where he had many Friends and great Credit. *Edward* vehemently desired to have in his Power these two Lords, the only Persons left that could give him any farther Trouble. To compass his Ends, it was by no means proper to march his Troops against them. Besides, that by so doing he would have put it in their Heads to leave the Kingdom, it was no easy Matter to seize their Persons in a Country where they had as many Friends as there were Inhabitants. So that believing Cunning to be better than Force, he sent into those Parts one *Robert Vaughan* with Orders to use all sorts of Means to seize or kill them. *Vaughan* not having been so secret as he ought, the Earl of *Pembroke*, who had notice of his Design, made as if he fell into the Snare which the Villain laid for him and slew him. Then he went and shut himself up in *Pembroke* Castle, from whence he departed with *Henry* his Nephew, and embarked on Board a Vessel which was to carry them to *France*. Mean while the Winds happening to drive them upon the Coast of *Bretagne*, and they were fain to put into some Port of that Country.

The Earl of
Pembroke
and Rich-
mond re-
tire into
Wales.

Edward
tries to get
rid of them,
but cannot.

They em-
bark for
France,

1471.
and are de-
tained in
Bretagne.

Edward
gets the
Lords to
take the
Oath to
his Son.
Act. Pub.
XI. 714.

Their Design was to go to *Paris*; but not having been able to help waiting upon the Duke of *Bretagne*, when they would have taken their Leave of him, they were told, that they were not at Liberty to pursue their Voyage. The Duke judging these two Lords might be of some use to him, appointed them the Town of *Vannes* to live in, with an honourable Allowance. Mean while, though they had outwardly all the Respect paid them that was due to their Birth and Quality, they were however very narrowly watched.

Edward seeing himself thoroughly settled in the Throne, without any Appearance of any further Disturbance in the Possession of a Crown which he had procured with so much Pains, assembled the Lords Spiritual and Temporal at *Westminster*. There in a set Speech, wherein he endeavoured to display the Title of the *House of York* to the Crown in its best Colours, and wherein he omitted not to speak of his Victories, he gave them to understand that he wished they would take the Oath to Prince *Edward* his Son, as to his apparent Successor, to which he found them all inclined. The two Archbishops, eight Bishops, five Dukes, with all the Earls and Lords patiently took the Oath accordingly on the 3d of *July*. Several former Instances had plainly enough shown such Precaution is of little use, and without going any farther, *Edward* might have called to Mind the Oath of the Duke his Father to *Henry VI*, and his own at *York*. He was persuaded however that People would be more conscientious with regard to him. But after his Death, his Children unhappily experienced how little such Assurances are to be depended upon.

Pardon
granted to
7 Bishops
p. 715.

Shortly after *Edward* granted a Pardon to seven Bishops that had declared against him in the late Revolution. From the Beginning of his Reign to the End, he always made it his Business to carry it fair with the *Clergy*. The residue of this Year was spent in sundry Negotiations, of which I shall say a Word or two before I close it.

The first was with the King of *Scotland*. During the Troubles in *England*, the Truce between the *English* and *Scots* had been frequently broken, contrary to the Intention of the two Kings. After *Edward's* Restoration, the King of *Scotland* having sent Ambassadors to him, it was agreed to hold a Congress at *Alnwick* on the 24th of *September*, to make Satisfaction on both Sides, for the Outrages the two Nations had committed upon one another. The two Kings were equally desirous to keep the Truce, and even to conclude a final Peace. This Negotiation however was not ended till 1473. It appears in the *Collection of the Publick Acts*, that *Edward* had empowered his Ambassadors to propose a Marriage between the King of *Scotland*, and an *English* Princess. I shall speak elsewhere of the Sequel of this Negotiation.

1471.
Negotiations with the King of Scotland.
p. 716, 717.

The Truce with Bre- tagne ra- tified.
p. 722.

On the 30th of *September* the Thirty Years Truce with *Bretagne* was ratified. This Ratification was necessary, as the Truce during the Earl of *Warwick's* Administration had been often violated.

Lewis XI was very sensible *Edward* had no reason to be pleased with him; but however that did not hinder him from offering him a Truce, that which had been made with *Henry VI* being of no Force now *Edward* was restored. In the Posture the Affairs of *England* were in, it was by no means proper that *Edward* should renew the War with *France*. His Kingdom was too much exhausted to think so soon of such an Undertaking. And therefore without much intreating, he agreed to continue the Truce from the 1st of *September* this Year, to the 1st of *May* following. This was only whilst he should put himself in a Condition to be revenged of *Lewis* for his assisting Queen *Margaret*.

Truce of 8 Months with France.
p. 722.

The Year 1472 abounded not with so many important and remarkable Events as the last. It was almost wholly spent in divers Negotiations tending to secure the Tranquillity of the King and Kingdom, by Truces, or Alliances with foreign Princes.

1472.

1472.
p. 733.

The Negotiation with *Scotland* still went on though slowly, by reason of the Obstacles which occurred in the Reparations each King demanded.

Differences
between
the English
and Flem-
ings.
p. 737,
738.

It appears by several Pieces in the *Collection of the Publick Acts*, that some Differences had arisen about the Truce of Commerce for thirty Years, between *England* and the Dominions of the Duke of *Burgundy*. Apparently, during the Earl of *Warwick's* Administration, the *English* had not done well by the Trading Subjects of the Duke. These last demanded reparation for sundry Damages they had sustained, affirming that the Truce was to be considered as made with *England*, and not with the Person of the reigning King. *Edward* on his Part did not think himself obliged to make good the Damages done to the *Flemings*, during the Earl of *Warwick's* Ministry. But these Differences concerned properly only the Merchants of the two Nations. As for the Princes, it was for both their Interests to live in a good Understanding. Wherefore in treating about the Outrages committed against the Truce, they did not omit to negotiate a final Peace.

Negotia-
tions with
the Hanse-
Towns.
p. 739.

An Affair of much the same Nature with the *Hanse-Towns*, created the King likewise some Trouble. These Towns, whereof *Lubeck*, *Hamburgh*, and *Dantzick* are the three Principal, had procured of the Kings of *England* several Privileges for their Merchants, because their Commerce was very beneficial to the *English*. But since the Civil Wars had commenced in *England*, the Government having often changed, the *English* had injured the Merchants of these Towns, and violated their Privileges several Ways. Whereupon they on their Part had obtained of their Magistrates *Letters of Mart*, which had turned their Differences into an open War, destructive to both Sides. At length the Troubles in *England* being over, the *Hanse-Towns* sent Ambassadors to the King, to demand Satisfaction for their Losses, and to propose the renewing of an Alliance to confirm their Privileges, and secure the Trade and Navigation of the *English* in the northern Seas. *Edward* received the Ambassadors very civilly, and appointed

pointed Commissioners, who after several Conferences, agreed with them, that a Congress should be held at *Utrecht* to settle all Things to the Satisfaction of both Parties. But this Affair was so full of Difficulties that it could not be ended till 1474.

1472.

Some Time after *Edward* by his Letters Patents confirmed the old Alliance made between *Richard II* and *John* King of *Portugal*, for them and their Successors. *Alphonso* King of that Country sent him the like Letters, dated the 30th of *August*.

Alliance with Portugal.
p. 741.

Whilst *Edward* was endeavouring to secure his Peace by renewing the Truces or Alliances with foreign Princes, the Return of the Earl of *Oxford* into *England* gave him a fresh Occasion of Uneasiness. That Earl, a great Strickler for the *House of Lancaster*, had retired into *France* after the Battle of *Tewkesbury*. But as he had found *Lewis XI* not much inclined to countenance him, he was come back to *England* with sixty-five Men, and had taken by Surprise *St. Michael's Mount* in *Cornwall*. *Edward*, ever apprehensive that the least Spark might re-kindle the Flames which were just extinguished, ordered some Troops to march forthwith into the *West*, and invest the Earl of *Oxford* in the Mount. But as the Earl had not Time to provide against a Siege, he surrendered before he was reduced to Extremities. All he could obtain was his Life only; but he lost his Liberty and Estate, which was all confiscated, and his Countess, Sister of the Earl of *Warwick*, had nothing allowed her for her Subsistence. From *St. Michael's Mount* he was conducted to the Castle of *Hammes* near *Calais*, where he was kept twelve Years a Prisoner.

The Earl of Oxford taken and imprisoned at Hammes,

The Archbishop of *York* had much the same Fate. Though the King had pardoned him, and received his Oath at *London* the Day before the Battle of *Barnet*, he was Brother to the Earl of *Warwick*, and that was enough to render him suspected. So that notwithstanding the Pardon he had procured, he was shut up in the Castle of *Guines*, where he died soon after.

and the Archbishop of York at Guines.

1472.
Death of
the Duke of
Exeter.

The King had no Enemy of note left in the Kingdom but *John * Holland* Duke of *Exeter*, who had taken *Sanctuary* at *Westminster* after the Battle of *Barnet*. Growing weary of his Confinement, he employs his Wife, who was *Edward's* Sister, to try to get his Pardon. They had lived a-part ever since the Beginning of the Civil Wars, because the Duke, whose Grand-Mother was Sister of *Henry IV*, adhered to the *Lancastrian* Party, and his Dutcheſs had continued with the King her Brother. This Princeſs, inſtead of ſuing for her Huſband's Pardon, demanded on the contrary to be divorced from him, and though ſhe had no lawful Reaſon, gained her Point. Apparently the King's Sollicitation went a great way in helping her to what ſhe wanted. Thus the Duke of *Exeter* ſaw himſelf forced to remain in his *Sanctuary* without any Proſpect of Pardon, and without having any Thing to ſubſiſt upon but what was privately ſent him by his Friends. At length, not being able to live thus immured any longer, he left the Place without any one knowing how or when. It is only known, that in 1474 he was found dead upon the Sea-ſhore in the County of *Kent*.

Edward
perſecutes
the *Lancas-*
trians.

Edward having nothing more to fear, ſince all the chief Friends of the *House of Lancaſter* were dead, or in Priſon, or baniſhed, gave too great a looſe to his Revenge upon Perſons of a lower Rank, who were not to be much dreaded by him. Some he put to Death, and others he fined immoderately, as a Punishment for having been in Arms againſt him. But what vexed him moſt, was the eſcape of the Earls of *Pembroke* and *Richmond*. He ſeemed to forebode the Evil that was to befall his Family from that Quarter. The Earl of *Richmond* was, as I have ſaid, the only remaining Branch of the *House of Lancaſter*, or rather, the only Perſon that could pretend to diſpute the Crown with *Edward*, as being Son of a Princeſs of that *House*. He had with him the Earl of *Pembroke* his Uncle, who was a Lord
of

* *Henry*.

of great Merit, and very able to direct him. Though they were both absent, and as it were Prisoners in *Bretagne*, they made the King very uneasy, who wished to see the Quarrel between the the two *Houses* entirely decided by the Death of the young Earl, to whom all the Rights of the *House of Lancaster* were fallen. With this View he sent Ambassadors to the Duke of *Bretagne*, intreating him to deliver up the two *English* Lords he had in his Power; but the Duke desired to be excused in a civil Manner. He promised however to keep them so that they should never be able to do him any hurt. Upon this Score *Edward* paid him yearly a large Sum, under colour of a Maintenance for the two Prisoners.

1472.
He demands the Earl of Richmond of the Duke of Bretagne, who denies him.

All this while the Negotiation with *Scotland* was kept on Foot, and as great Difficulties occurred, it was agreed between the Plenipotentiaries of the two Kings, that the Truce should subsist till *May* this Year.

Truce with Scotland Act. Pub. XI. 758. Gruthuyse made Earl of Winchester. p. 765.

After *Edward* had settled his Affairs much to his Mind, he remembered the honourable and hearty Reception he had met with in *Holland*, from *Lewis de Bruges* Lord of *Gruthuyse*, and resolved to make him an Acknowledgment. To that Purpose, having ordered it so that the Parliament petitioned him to create that foreign Lord a *Peer of England*, he made him *Earl of Winchester*. And then by *Letters Patents*, he allowed him to bear the Arms of *England* in his *Scutcheon*.

Before I finish what relates to the Events of this Year, it will be necessary briefly to mention how Matters stood between *Lewis XI* and the Duke of *Burgundy*. The Knowledge of their Differences is very requisite for the Understanding of the History of *England*. I have said above, that *Lewis*, at the Instance of the Duke of *Bretagne*, and the Constable of *St. Paul*, who sought only to deceive him, had begun the War with the Duke of *Burgundy*, and taken from him *Amiens*, and *St. Quentin*. As he did not want good Spies, he discovered at length that they had engaged him in that War purely to bring about the projected Marriage between the Duke of *Guienne* his Brother, and the Duke of

State of Affairs between Lewis and the Duke of Burgundy.

1472.

of *Burgundy's* Daughter. In order therefore to free himself at once from the Troubles they were endeavouring to create him by means of his Brother, he caused him to be poisoned with a slow Poison, which was not to carry him off till such a Time, that his Death might be ascribed to a common Distemper. Mean while for fear the Duke of *Burgundy* finding himself too hard pressed, should take new Measures with the Duke of *Bretagne* and the *Constable*, he sent to offer him a Truce. The Duke could wish for nothing more to his Advantage in the Circumstances he was in. But as he had reason to fear that the offer was designed only to amuse him, *Lewis* gave the Duke of *Bretagne* full Power to conclude a Truce in his Name. The Duke could not refuse to take upon him the Management of this Affair without discovering his Designs, sent the Bishop of *Lyons* in Quality of Mediator, to *Cambray*, where the Treaty was to be negotiated. Both Parties were so willing to agree, that it was not possible for the Bishop to find any way to hinder the signing of a Truce for thirteen Months, from the first of *April* 1472, to the first of *May* 1473. About six Weeks after the Conclusion of the Truce the Duke of *Guienne* died, and *Lewis* took Possession of that Dutchy without Opposition.

The Duke of *Burgundy* perceived then that *Lewis* had granted him a Truce only to gain Time to do his Business in *Guienne*, and that upon all Occasions he should be the Cully of that Prince when their Matters should be determined by way of Negotiation. Wherefore being highly provoked to see himself thus fooled, and finding that with such Enemies the surest way is to act with open Force, that they may at least run an equal share of the Danger, he entered *France* and put all he met in his way to Fire and Sword. The Duke of *Bretagne* seeing his Projects vanished into Air by the Death of the Duke of *Guienne*, resolved to join in good earnest with the Duke of *Burgundy*, being persuaded that the Preservation of both depended upon their strict Union. Mean while *Lewis* plainly perceiv-

ing

ing the Duke of *Bretagne* would not fail to take that Course, had already sent Troops into *Anjou* to keep him in Awe.

1472.

Whilst *Lewis* was taken up in *Guienne*, the Duke of *Burgundy* made some Progress in *Picardy*, and took *Nosse* and *Roye*. But unluckily for him, he lost two whole Months before *Beauvais*, and could not take the Place. By which means *Lewis* perceiving he was not in want of his Troops left them in *Anjou*. So that the Duke of *Bretagne* not daring to stir, was prevented from going to join his Ally according to Agreement. At length the Duke of *Burgundy* having raised the Siege of *Beauvais*, came into *Normandy* and there expected the Duke of *Bretagne*. In the mean Time *Lewis* was somewhat at a Loss. By leaving his Troops in *Anjou*, he exposed *Picardy* and *Normandy* to the Attacks of the Duke of *Burgundy*, and in Case he marched to the Assistance of these two Provinces, he gave the Duke of *Bretagne* an Opportunity to make a powerful Diversion in his neighbourhood. But he soon knew how to extricate himself out of this Difficulty. By the help of the Duke of *Bretagne*'s Ministers, whom he gained over to his Interest, he found means to make a Truce with that Prince, and to persuade him to renounce the Duke of *Burgundy*'s Alliance. This unexpected Defection obliged the Duke of *Burgundy* to accept of a Truce which *Lewis* offered him, and which was frequently prolonged.

Before we enter upon the Events of the Year 1473, it must be observed, that all the *English* Historians are mistaken in a whole Year, placing in this what happened not till the next. *Biondi* the *Italian* Author I have before quoted several Times, owns that the *French* place in the Year 1475 what the *English* fix to the Year 1474, and adds, that he chuses to follow the *English*, and so is guilty of the same Mistake with them. *The Collection of the Publick Acts* makes this appear so plainly that there is no Room to Question it. It is true the Year 1473 was so barren of Events, that it is no great Wonder if it was confounded or joined with

1473.
Mistakes of
the English
Historians.

1473. the next. See in a few Words the Affairs which are to be assigned to the Year 1473. Though they are of little Moment in themselves, yet they serve to distinguish these two Years and rectify the *Chronology*.

*Agreement
with Por-
tugal.*

*Act. Pub.
767, 766.*

The King of *Portugal* having demanded the Restitution of certain *Portuguese* Ships that had been taken by the *English*. Inquiry was made whereby it appeared that these Ships had been plundered by the *Bastard of Falconbridge* during his Revolt against *Edward*. For which reason the King of *Portugal* desisted from his Demands.

*Confirma-
tion of the
Truce with
Scotland.
p. 788.*

The Affairs with *Scotland* took up *Edward* good Part of this Year. At length by a Treaty concluded at *Alnwick* on the 28th of *September*, it was agreed the Truce of *Newcastle* should be inviolably kept by both the Nations.

p. 780, 793.

The Differences *Edward* had with the *Hanse-Towns* were likewise decided at the Congress of *Utrecht* the 19th of *September*.

*Negotiations with the
Duke of
Burgundy.*

There were likewise some Negotiations touching the Thirty Years Truce of Commerce between *England* and the Duke of *Burgundy's* Dominions; but it does not appear that any Thing was done in the Affair, which in all appearance served only for a Blind to more secret and important Negotiations, as we shall see presently.

*Alliance
with Den-
mark.*

The Alliance between *England* and *Denmark* having been often violated during the Confusion of the Civil Wars in *England*, the two Sovereigns were equally desirous to renew it. To that End they agreed, that without inquiring into the Damages which the *English* and *Danes* might have done one another, the Alliance should remain upon the same Foot it was before the Violation.

This is all that is worth notice in the *Collection of the Publick Acts* for the Year 1473. Let us proceed now to the following Year, which will afford us more plenty of Matter,

The

The Duke of *Burgundy*, as I said, had obtained a Truce which was afterwards prolonged two or three Times till 1475. During this Truce he had employed his Time in conquering the Dutchy of *Gueldres*. *Arnold* Duke of that Name, being displeased with *Adolphus* his Son, who had kept him a good while in Prison, had made a Grant of his Dutchy to the Duke of *Burgundy*. Upon which Pretence having entered *Gueldres*, he had defeated and taken *Adolphus* Prisoner and seized upon the Dutchy.

1474.
Designs of
the Duke of
Burgundy.

This Acquisition having put him upon making new Conquests, he considered how he might enlarge his Dominions on the Side of *Germany*, and formed Projects too vast for him, and too hard to be performed. *Mezerai* says, that he promised his Daughter in Marriage to *Maximilian* Son of the Emperor *Frederick*, upon Condition that his Dominions should be erected into a Kingdom. He adds, that this Matter miscarried, because the Duke would have the Condition performed before the Marriage, that he might sign the Contract as King; but the Emperor would have the Marriage consummated first. Be that as it will, the Duke having formed the Project of extending his Dominions in *Germany*, embraced the first Opportunity that offered to carry his Arms into that Country. A Dispute about the Archbishoprick of *Cologne* happening to arise between *Robert of Bavaria* and the Brother of the *Landgrave of Hesse*, furnished him with the Pretence he wanted. He immediately took the Prince of *Bavaria's* Part, and went and laid Siege to *Nuz* a strong Town in the Archbishoprick of *Cologne*. He reckoned that the taking of that Place would help him to go thro' with his other Designs.

Mezerai.

Comin.

The Truce with the King of *France* being to last till the Month of *June* 1475, the Duke of *Burgundy* hoped to be Master of *Nuz* before it should be expired. But *Lewis* put such Clogs in his Way that he could not execute his Designs so speedily as he had imagined. *Lewis* managed it so by his Intrigues, that the Emperor *Frederick* drew together a strong Army to oblige

1474. the Duke to raise the Siege. The Duke of *Lorrain*, the Duke of *Austria*, the *Switzers*, entered into a League against him ; so that finding himself at a great Loss to withstand so many Enemies, he continued Ten Months before *Nuz*, without being able to take it. Whilst he was employed in the Siege, he saw no other way to free himself from the Persecutions of his Enemy, but by getting the King of *England* to make a powerful Diversion in *France*. With this view he sent Ambassadors to *Edward* to persuade him to make War upon the common Enemy. The better to engage him in this Undertaking, he promised to join him with all his Forces the Moment he should come into *Picardy*. He made him hope likewise that the Constable of *St. Paul* would give him up *St. Quentin*, that the Duke of *Bretagne* would join in a League with them, and that by the help of that Prince's Friends in *France*, he would put the Kingdom in such Confusion, that the Conquest of it would be rendered much easier than it was in the Reign of *Charles VI*.

He engages Edward to league with him against France.

This was precisely the very Opportunity *Edward* had been impatiently waiting for, to be revenged of *Lewis XI*. Every thing seemed to conspire the Downfal of that restless and turbulent Prince, seeing he was going to be attacked by three formidable Powers, not to reckon what he had to fear from his own Subjects. And indeed, if all his Enemies had acted with the same Ardour as *Edward*, he would doubtless have run the Risk of seeing his Affairs in great Disorder. But in all appearance, the Duke of *Burgundy* had no other Design than to engage *Edward* to make a Diversion in *France*, that *Lewis* might be prevented from giving him any Disturbance in *Germany*. Be that as it will, acting as if he really intended to undertake the Conquest of *France* jointly with the King of *England*, he gave very ample Powers to his Ambassadors to treat with him upon that Head. The Plenipotentiaries of the two Princes having agreed upon all the Articles, signed about the End of *July* several Treaties relating to this important Undertaking.

The first was a Treaty of Amity, Alliance and Confederacy between the King of *England* and Duke of *Burgundy*, who promised to stand by one another to the utmost of their Power.

1474.
Several
Treaties be-
tween Ed-
ward and
the Duke of
Burgundy.
Act. Pub.
XI. 804,
806.

The second contained certain private Agreements concerning the War they were to carry into *France*, which were comprised in the Eight following Articles :

I. That *Edward* should pass into *France* at the Head of Ten Thousand Men at least, all well armed and equipped, before the 1st of *July*, 1475, in order to recover the Dutchies of *Guienne* and *Normandy*, and the whole Kingdom of *France*.

II. That the Duke of *Burgundy* should assist him in Person with all his Forces.

III. That the King should hearken to no Proposal of Peace or Truce without the Duke's Consent.

IV. The Duke of *Burgundy* bound himself likewise to do the same.

V. That the two Princes should cause the War to be proclaimed, each in his respective Dominions, against *Lewis* as their common Enemy.

VI. That in case one of the two Princes should happen to lay Siege to some Town, or be forced to give Battle, the other should be obliged to come and join him with all his Forces, and at his own Charges, that both might run the same Hazard. That their Lieutenants should be bound to the same Thing.

VII. That immediately after the War should be begun or proclaimed, the two Allies should attack the common Enemy in the most convenient Places, so as they should not however be out of reach to succour one another.

VIII. That when the War should once be commenced, neither of them should desist as long as the other should have a mind to go on. That if one of them should be absent, his Lieutenant should be obliged to obey him that should be present, in all Things that concerned the common Good of the two Allies.

1474.
P. 808.

The third Treaty contained an Explanation of one of the Articles of the first, wherein it was said that each of the two Allies should assist one another with all his Forces. As this Expression was too general, they agreed upon the Number, and the Payment of the Troops they were to supply one another with.

P. 810.

The fourth was a Grant from *Edward* to the Duke of *Burgundy* of several Provinces of *France*, in consideration of the Services that Prince was to do him in aiding him to recover the whole Kingdom. This Grant excluded the Dutchy of *Bar*, the Earldoms of *Champagne*, *Nevers*, *Retel*, *Eu*, *Guise*, the Barony of *Doufy*, with all the Towns on both Sides the *Somme*; and lastly, all the Lands held by the Earl of *St. Paul*, of *Guienne*, *Normandy*, or the Crown of *France*. Moreover, he gave up the Homage of all these Provinces, as well as of *Burgundy*, the Earldoms of *Charolois* and *Mâcon*, of *Flanders*, *Artois*, and in general of all the Territories the Duke was actually possessed of, or acquired by this Grant. Finally, he added, that his Intent was that the Grant or Conveyance should be as valid as if the *Estates* had consented to it, promising to get the whole ratified by the said *Estates*, as soon as he should be in Possession of the Crown of *France*.

P. 812.

The fifth was an Agreement whereby the Duke of *Burgundy* engaged to furnish for the War an Army which should be above Ten Thousand Men, and under Twenty Thousand. The King promised on his Part to assign him yearly the Pay of these Troops upon the Provinces included in the foregoing Grant, in case they should be conquered, and if not, upon other *Demefns* of the Crown, in proportion to what should be wanting: That if the Assignment of the Pay was not made before the End of every Year, he agreed that the Duke should not be obliged to find any Troops the Year following.

P. 813.

The sixth and last *Act* was in Form of *Letters Patents*, whereby the Duke of *Burgundy* agreed that *Edward* and his Successors Kings of *France* should have free liberty to enter into *Rheims* in order to be crowned,
and

and to go out without any hindrance. This *Aét* was necessary, because *Champagne* was included in the Grant. 1474.

This is properly to sell the Bear's Skin before he was killed. However, it is no very hard Matter to dive into the Motives of the Conduct of these two Princes, since it is certain they both intended to cheat one another. They were both too wise to expect to conquer *France* with the Forces they agreed to set on Foot. But the Duke of *Burgundy* had a mind to engage *Edward* to make a powerful Diversion in that Kingdom, by persuading him it would be very easy to conquer it. *Edward* feigned on his Part to be allured with these Hopes, the better to engage the Duke of *Burgundy* to lend him an Aid sufficient to enable him to recover *Guienne* and *Normandy*. This here is neither the first nor the last Time that Princes have played such Parts in their Treaties. *The King's and Duke's Motives in this Treaty.*

Edward having signed all these Treaties, began in good earnest to make Preparations for the War he was about to undertake. His first Care was to assemble a Parliament, which readily granted him a *Subsidy*. Ever since the Reign of *Edward III.* the Parliaments seldom wanted much Sollicitation when the Point was to grant Money for a War with *France*. As soon as *Edward* saw himself backed by his Parliament, he issued out Commissions to levy Troops, in far greater Numbers than what he had engaged to furnish by his Treaty with the Duke of *Burgundy*. The Truth is, as the War was upon his Account, it was his Part to exert himself in Proportion to the Greatness of the Undertaking. Whilst he was hastning his Preparations he sent Ambassadors to divers Courts, as well to make Alliances with several Princes, as to endeavour to hinder their uniting with his Enemy. We find in *the Collection of the Publick Aét's* that he sent to the Emperor *Frederick*, to *Ferdinand* King of *Sicily*, to the King of *Hungary*, and some others, to engage them to enter into the League. *Subsidy granted the King. He prepares for the War. Several Embassies; p. 816 — 836.*

At the same Time he secured himself against the Divisions he might fear from the *Scots*, by concluding a Marriage between *Cicely* his second Daughter, and the King of *Scotland's* eldest Son. The first Overture concerning *p. 824, 836.* *He concludes the Marriage of Cicely his Daughter with the Prince of Scotland,*

1474.

He pays her
Dowry be-
forehand.

cerning this Match was made in the Beginning of the Year, and it was negotiated afterwards in divers Conferences between the Plenipotentiaries of the two Kings. At length, it was concluded on the 30th of *July*, and *October* the 18th, the young Prince and Princess were contracted by Proxies. Some Days after the Truce of *Newcastle*, which was to last till 1509, was again ratified at *Edinburgh*. As the betrothed Couple were very young, it was agreed that the Marriage should be accomplished as soon as they were of Age, and that in the mean while *Edward* should pay at Times his Daughter's Dowry consisting of Twenty Thousand Marks *Sterling*.

1475.
He raises
Money by
way of Be-
nevolence.
Biond.
Babing.

Edward having thus secured himself against the Divisions that his Enemy might have brought upon him, continued his Preparations with great Hopes of succeeding in his Designs. The *Subsidy* granted by the Parliament not seeming to him sufficient, or it may be part of it having been applied to other uses, he borrowed Money of all his Subjects that were reputed rich. Some contributed chearfully; others suffered themselves to be prevailed upon by the King's Flatteries: and some were afraid of incurring his Displeasure, and perhaps some Violence in case they complied not. In general, there were but few who dared to stand out. This sort of *Aid* levied after this Manner was called by the new Name of *Benevolence*, intimating that private Persons had granted it freely and of their own accord. Mean while, these Loans made without Authority of Parliament were of a very dangerous Consequence: but as it was to carry on the War with *France*, no body said any thing against it. 'Tis reported, that the King himself having asked a rich Widow what she would lend him, she replied, that *she could not refuse Twenty Pound Sterling to a Prince who borrowed with so good a Grace*. The King, as much pleased with the Lady's Politeness as with her Present, very courtiously gave her a Kiss, which she took as such a Favour that she doubled the Sum she had promised.

Amongst

Amongst the new-raised Troops there were Three Thousand Men designed for the Duke of *Bretagne*, pursuant to a secret Treaty *Edward* had made with him. That Prince however had lately changed into a perpetual Peace the Truce he had made with *Lewis*. Nevertheless, when he was informed of the League between *Edward* and the Duke of *Burgundy*, he demanded to be included in it, but privately, for fear he should be oppressed before his Allies were ready. The Lord *Audley* and the Lord *Duras* were to command the Succours designed for *Bretagne*.

1475.
He designs
3000 Men
for Bre-
tagne
Act. Pub.
XII. 12.

Every thing being ready for the Departure of the Army, *Edward* went and embarked at *Sandwich* on the 20th of *June*, having appointed the Prince of *Wales* his Son, then but five Years old, *Guardian* of the Realm in his Absence. An Historian affirms, that he found at *Dover* five Hundred Transport-Vessels which the Duke of *Burgundy* had sent thither, the which is not very likely. *Mezerai* says on the contrary, that all the *English* Troops took up three Weeks in passing, which is a Sign either that there were few Vessels or a vast Number of Troops. *Philip de Comines* assures us, that never any King of *England* had led into *France* so strong an Army. But this is speaking hyperbolically, or not exactly according to Truth. It is certain this Army was not near so numerous as that which *Edward III.* had led thither a little before the Treaty of *Bretigny* (a). Be that as it will, it is no easy Matter to know the exact Number of the Troops this Army consisted of, since Historians have told us only the Number of *the Horse*, without saying any thing of *the Foot*. But if we judge by the usual Proportion in those Days, when they relied much more on the *Cavalry* than on the *Infantry*, this Army was not so numerous as is pretended, since there were but Fifteen Hundred *Lances*, and Fifteen Thousand Archers on Horseback. Besides, by the Treaty *Edward* had made with the Duke of *Burgundy*, he was obliged to find but Ten Thousand Men. In fine, we

He passes
over to Cal-
lais, p. 13.

(a) *Edward the Third's Army was 190,000 Men.*

1475. shall see in the Sequel that he made Peace with *Lewis* without so much as opening a Campaign, as soon as he found he could not depend upon the Duke of *Burgundy's* Succours. This doubtless he would not have done, before he had rendered himself formidable by some Exploit, had he been so strong as some make him.

He pro-
claims War
by a He-
rald.

Comin.
Biond.
Babing.
Lewis's
Answer,

and Present
to the He-
rald.

Upon *Edward's* Arrival at *Calais* he sent a Herald to *Lewis* to summon him to restore the whole Kingdom of *France*, and in case of Refusal, to proclaim War against him. *Lewis* having heard the Herald in private, told him, that he was very well informed that it was not of his own Inclination that *Edward* was come to make War, but by the Instigation of the Duke of *Burgundy* and the Constable of *St. Paul*, and that he could assure his Master they would both deceive him. Then having asked him some Questions, which gave the Herald occasion to tell him, that when he should want to make any Offers of Peace he might apply to the Lords *Howard* and *Stanley*; he presented him with three Hundred Crowns, and Thirty Yards of Velvet to make him a Robe. He did not expect without doubt to reap any great Benefit from the Herald by this Present, since the Man was not one of his Master's Council: But he had a mind to let *Edward's* Courtiers see what they might expect from him for more important Services. The Herald failed not to make a Show of his Present, and to relate to the Lord *Howard*, who held the chief Place in the King's Favour, what had passed between the King of *France* and him.

Edward
bears no
News of the
Duke of
Burgundy.

Mean while, *Edward* having advanced into *Picardy*, where he hoped to meet the Duke of *Burgundy*, found not so much as a single Man from him. Surprised at a Proceeding which to him appeared so strange, he sent to the Duke who was still before *Nuz*, to know the Reason of it. But before I go any farther, it will be necessary to say a Word of the Duke of *Burgundy's* Affairs.

State of the
Duke of
Burgun-
dy's Affairs.
Mezerai,

The Duke had stuck to the Siege of *Nuz*, in hopes to become Master of that Place and of *Cologne* itself before *Edward* should arrive in *France*. But the Emperor having

having approached him with an Army four Times as strong as his, without however offering him Battle, the Besiegers were so harrassed, that the Siege rather went backwards than forwards. And yet the Duke, from a Motive of Vain-Glory, was obstinately bent to continue it, to let the World see that the Emperor with all his Forces was not able to make him raise it. Nothing could be more advantagious to the King of *France*, or more prejudicial to the Duke's Affairs, than this unreasonable Obstinacy. In the first Place it hindered him from being able to go and join the King of *England*. 2. In the mean time, *Sigismund* Duke of *Austria* took from him the Earldom of *Ferette*, and the Duke of *Lorrain* ravaged *Luxemburgh*. 3. As soon as his Truce with *France* was expired, *Lewis* made himself Master of *Roye*, *Corbie*, and *Montdidier*. In fine, when it was too late, and when he wanted but eight Days to be Master of the Place, pressed by the Instances made him from *Edward*, he agreed it should be put into the Hands of a Legate to be disposed of according to the Pope's Pleasure. After the raising of the Siege, the Duke's Army was so little able to march, that instead of hastning to join the *English*, he put his Men into Summer Quarters. Then he sat out himself with a few Attendants, to go and make his Excuses to *Edward*. It was a difficult Matter for the King to be able to brook such a Neglect in so important an Affair. He began from that time to open his Eyes, and to perceive that he had engaged in the War for another's Interest, whereas he had imagined it was for his own. On the other Hand, the Precautions which the Duke of *Burgundy* took, not to let but few *English* at a time go into *Peronne*, confirmed the King more and more in his Suspicions. At length he was quite undeceived by the Behaviour of the Constable of *St. Paul*, who commanded in *St. Quentin*. The Constable, who had been one of the chief Promoters of the War, by reason he founded his Greatness wholly upon the Dissention between the King of *France* and the Duke of *Burgundy*, had positively promised to deliver up *St. Quentin* to the King of *England*. Upon this Assurance,

1475.

*He is bent
to pursue
the Siege of
Nuz.*

*He quits
the Siege.*

*He goes to
Edward
without
Troops.*

*He is de-
ceived by
the Constable
of St. Paul.*

1475. surance, the Duke of *Burgundy* would have conducted *Edward* into that Place, that having so good a Pledge in his Hands, he might have a little Patience. But upon their Approach, they were fired upon from the Town. At the same Time a Body of Horse falling out, killed some *English* Soldiers who were most forward to go in, expecting to be admitted without any Difficulty. It is very probable that the Duke of *Burgundy* himself was deceived upon this Occasion by the *Constable*. And indeed, it is by no means likely that he should for the Purpose cause such an Affront to be put upon a Prince whom he stood in need of, and who had him in his Power. He did all he could however to excuse the *Constable*, and feed the King's Hopes. But finding *Edward* gave no Credit to his Words, but on the contrary reproached him bitterly, he left him next Day, under Colour of going to hasten his Troops. It may be he was not without some Apprehension that *Edward* might carry his Resentment further.

He leaves
Edward,

who is at a
great Loss.

Edward seeing himself thus deserted by the Duke of *Burgundy* and the *Constable*, and not hearing that the Duke of *Bretagne* stirred at all, or that there was any appearance of the Insurrections in *France*, which they had made him expect, found himself at a very great Loss. In the mean Time a *French* Prisoner, the only one that was taken since the Arrival of the *English* Army, having been released by the King's Order, the Lords *Howard* and *Stanly* charged him to present their Respects to the King his Master. The Prisoner having done as desired, *Lewis* began to think it was not for nothing that they had made him this Compliment, remembering what the *English* Herald had told him concerning these Lords. He perceived that the Court of *England* wanted to enter upon a Treaty, but would not make the first Advances. For his Part, who stood not so much upon Punctilio's, he resolved to improve this sort of Overture. *Philip de Comines* says, he caused a certain Person of little note, but of good Sense, to be dressed like a *Herald*, and having fully instructed him, gave him Orders to go to the *English* Army
and

Lewis XI.
offers a
Peace.
Comin.

and demand a *Safe-Conduet* for Ambassadors, and to apply himself for that Purpose to the Lords *Howard* and *Stanly*. The counterfeit *Herald* being admitted into the King's Presence, told him, " That he was ordered by the King his Master to represent to him that the War between their two Kingdoms could not but be destructive to both, and that the mutual Trade of the two Nations was on the contrary a manifest Advantage which they ought to cherish. Then he excused the King his Master's countenancing the Earl of *Warwick*, assuring that it was not out of any Ill-Will to *Edward*, but on the Account of the Duke of *Burgundy* his irreconcilable Enemy. He added, that the Duke of *Burgundy's* and the *Constable's* Insincerity was so evident, that it was needless to acquaint him with it, seeing he felt the Effects of it sufficiently : That he was come in Arms into a Country where he had neither strong Holds nor Friends, and he left it to him to judge himself, whether the Conquest of *France* was so easy a Task as he had been made to believe : That however the King his Master, being sensible that so great an Armament could not have been made without a vast Expence, was very willing to make him Amends in such manner as he should have reason to be satisfied : That therefore he demanded a *Safe-Conduet* for Ambassadors, with a Retinue of a hundred *Horse*, that they might treat in a proper Place, with those of *England*, about a firm and lasting Peace between the two Kings and their respective Subjects. "

In the Circumstances *Edward* was under, the King of *France's* Proposal was very acceptable. And therefore the *Herald* was sent back with a Present, and the *Safe-Conduet* he had demanded. The same Day, or the next, *Edward* called a Council, whereat were present all the Lords that had attended him in the Army, to the Number of eighteen. It was resolved, almost unanimously, that the Lord *Howard* and two others should go and confer with the King of *France's* Ambassadors, and a full Power was given them to conclude a Peace upon

1475.

The Herald's Speech
to Edward.

Edward calls a Council.
Aug. 13.
A&C. Pub.
XII. 14.
15.

1475.
Conditions
offered to
the King of
France.

upon these Terms : 1. That *Lewis* should pay the King, within fifteen Days, the Sum of threescore and fifteen Thousand Crowns, and from thence forward fifty Thousand Crowns Yearly at two Payments during the Life of the two Kings. 2. That the King of *France* should be obliged to marry the *Dauphin* his Son with the King's eldest or second Daughter, and to allow his Daughter-in-law sixty Thousand *Livres* a Year. Upon these two Conditions, the Ambassadors were empowered to promise in the King's Name, that he would return to *England* with his Troops, immediately after the Receipt of the threescore and fifteen Thousand Crowns : To conclude a Treaty of Amity and Alliance between the two Kings, with promise of mutual Assistance against their rebellious Subjects. And lastly, To sign a Truce for seven Years.

The Plenipotentiaries of the two Kings being met near *Amiens*, at almost an equal Distance from the two Armies, the Treaty was concluded on the 28th or 29th of *August*, upon the Foot *Edward* desired it, without any considerable alteration. Every Thing being thus settled, separate Writings were drawn up, on each particular Article of the Treaty,

Treaty of
Amiens
or Pequigny.
p. 15.

By the first, the two Kings were bound to decide all their Differences by Arbitrators, namely, the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and the Duke of *Clarence* for the King of *England*, and for the King of *France*, the Archbishop of *Lyons*, and the Earl of *Dunois*. Moreover, *Edward* promised to go out of the *French* Territories upon the Receipt of the seventy five Thousand Crowns, without doing any Damage, and to leave Hostages for the Performance of his Word.

p. 17.

The second concerned the Truce for seven Years, wherein were included all the Allies of both the Kings, and expressly the Dukes of *Burgundy* and *Bretagne*, if they desired it.

p. 19.

The Third contained a mutual Engagement to brotherly Friendship and Amity between the two Kings, and particular Agreements touching the *Dauphin's* Marriage with *Elizabeth* Daughter of *Edward*.

The

The Fourth was in Form of *Letters Patents*, whereby *Lewis* bound himself to pay Annually to *Edward* ^{p. 20.} during their Lives, the Sum of fifteen Thousand Crowns. This the *English* Authors call a *Tribute*, though the *Letters Patents* express not under what Title this yearly Pension was to be paid. Some say that it was limited to nine Years. But it does not appear that it was to cease as long as the two Kings lived.

Lastly, *Edward* promised to set Queen *Margaret* at ^{p. 21.} Liberty, for a Ransom of fifty Thousand Crowns, which the King of *France* was to pay for her within five Years. We find in the *Collection of the Publick Acts*, that *Margaret* was indeed freed out of her Confinement in the Beginning of *November* this Year, and that *Lewis* XI. punctually paid the Sum promised.

The Duke of *Burgundy* having notice that the two Kings were beginning to treat, departed forthwith from his Army, to which he was returned, and made all possible speed, hoping he should be able to stop Proceedings; but he found that the Truce was already signed. He fell foul upon *Edward* with bitter Reproaches; to which *Edward* returned a suitable Answer, telling him however that he had taken Care to include him in the Truce. But the Duke fiercely replied, that he wanted not his Mediation, and valued it so little, that if he should have a Mind to treat for himself it should not be till a Month after he had heard of his Arrival in *England*. Thus parting extremely dissatisfied with one another, the Duke retired into his own Country. The Constable of *St. Paul* did all that lay in his Power to perswade *Edward* to break the Truce, offering to deliver up to him *St. Quentin*, and lend him fifty Thousand Crowns. But *Edward* took Care how he renewed the War upon his Account, and how he trusted to his Promises after having been so manifestly deceived.

Before *Edward* set out for *England*, it was thought proper that the two Kings should have a Conference together upon the Bridge of *Pequigny*, with a Bar [or Grate] between them. *Lewis* came to the Place first, attended

The Duke of Burgundy falls out with Edward.

1475.
Conference
of the two
Kings at
Pequigny.

attended with the Cardinal of *Bourbon*, and five other Lords. Then came *Edward* accompanied likewise with a small Number of Lords. After they had both sworn to keep the late Treaty, *Lewis* told *Edward* that if he would come to *Paris*, he would try to divert him with the agreeable Company of the fair Ladies of that City, and if he chanced to make any false Steps with them, he would assign the Cardinal of *Bourbon* for his Confessor, who would be none of the Rigidest. After this and some other Joakes, *Lewis* made sign to those that were with him to retire, and the *English* drew back likewise on their Side. When the two Kings were alone, they talked a pretty while together, and it was known afterwards that the *Constable*, and the Dukes of *Burgundy* and *Bretagne* were the Subject of their Conversation. As to the *Constable*, *Edward* would not concern himself about him. With regard to the Duke of *Burgundy*, *Lewis* having asked what he should do in Case that Prince refused to be included in the Truce: *Edward* replied, that he might do as he pleased, if the Duke refused, after having had another Offer. But as to the Duke of *Bretagne* he plainly told him, that he would assist him to the utmost of his Power if he was attacked. *Lewis* thought proper to insist no longer upon that Head, and in fine, they parted very well satisfied with each other.

Lewis
civilly re-
fused *Ed-*
ward's
Vijis.

The Interview being over, *Lewis* went to *Amiens*, where the Lord *Howard* followed him as Hostage. Whilst *Lewis* was washing his Hands in order to sit down at Table, *Howard* told him in his Ear, that he took upon him to perswade the King his Master to take a turn to *Paris*; to which *Lewis* made no Answer. *Howard* often harped upon the same String during Dinner, but the King made as if he understood him not. However he caused him to be told afterwards, that the War he was going to wage with the Duke of *Burgundy* not permitting him to go to *Paris*, he was very sorry he should not be able to enjoy the Benefit of the Honour the King intended to do him. *Philip de Comines* remarks upon this Occasion, that there was no-
thing

thing *Lewis* feared so much as to see *Edward* take a liking to *France*, nor any Thing he longed for more eagerly, than to behold his back turned in order for *England*. He was under such Apprehensions that *Edward* would repent of making the Truce, that he privately bestowed Pensions upon his principal Counsellors, to induce them to keep him in a Temper to observe it. *Comines* could speak of these Things with certainty, since he was then in *Lewis's* Service and Secrets. He adds moreover that the Duke of *Gloucester*, who was against the Truce, being come to wait upon the King of *France*, was received with extraordinary Respect, and that the King omitted nothing to gain over to his Interests such of *Edward's* Courtiers as were in any Favour. The *English* Army being come near *Amiens*, *Lewis* caused the Gates to be kept open, and sent orders to the publick Inns, that they should entertain at free Cost all the *English* that should come thither. Moreover, he sent to the King of *England* a Present of three Hundred Waggon-Loads of Wine, for the use of his Army, so desirous was he to gain the Good-Will of the *English*, for fear some one of them should let *Edward* see the Error he had committed. This Present gave Occasion to some to say, that he found means to send the *English* Home, by the Help of some Cart-loads of Wine. At length all *Lewis's* Fears vanished upon the Departure of the *English*, who went away, says an Historian, extremely well pleased with the *French* Gold and Wine : And adds, the Pensions assigned to *Edward's* principal Courtiers, amounted to sixteen Thousand Crowns a Year *.

The Duke of *Burgundy* not being able to think of desiring to be excluded in the Treaty *Edward* had made without his Knowledge, stood out for some Time, and at last accepted of a separate Truce offered him by *Lewis*. As to the *Constable*, who had deceived the

1475:

He gives
Pensions to
the En-
glish.

The Duke of
Burgundy
accepts of a
Truce.

* The chief Men of Name who were in Pension, were the Lord *Hastings* the King's Chamberlain, and the Lord *Howard*, Sir *John Cheney*, Sir *Anthony St. Leger*, and Sir *Thomas Montgomery*.

1475:
The Con-
stable is
beheaded.

three Princes, and been the principal Author of their Division, he saw himself in the end forsaken by all, and forced to retire into the Duke of *Burgundy's* Dominions, upon the Faith of a *Safe-Conduct*. But notwithstanding that Security, the Duke delivered him up to the King of *France*, who commanded his Head to be struck off. A fair Warning to such as labour to sow Discord among Princes.

The Reason
of Ed-
ward's
standing by
the Duke of
Bretagne.

Lewis would have been very glad that the Duke of *Bretagne* had been sacrificed to him in the same manner. But that Prince had in his Hands a Pledge which obliged *Edward* to stand by him, otherwise he would have had no more regard for him than for the Duke of *Burgundy*. This was the Earl of *Richmond*, who though absent, made the *English* Monarch extremely uneasy. If the Duke of *Bretagne* had suffered that Prince, with the Earl of *Pembroke* his Uncle to get away, they might in Time set the *Lancastrian* Party on Foot again, and by that means *Edward* would perhaps see himself exposed to the hazard of a thirteenth Battle, to support himself in the Throne. This was in Truth the Reason which induced *Edward* to stand by the Duke of *Bretagne*, and to let *Lewis* know, who was very urgent with him several Times to desert that Prince, that on the contrary he would defend him to the utmost of his Power.

1476.
Edward
demands
the Earl of
Richmond
of the Duke
of Bre-
tagne.
Biond.
Basing.
Argent.

This open Demonstration of Friendship for the Duke of *Bretagne*, making *Edward* imagine the Duke would be very glad of an Opportunity to show his Acknowledgment, he sent Ambassadors to him, under Colour of renewing their Truce. There were but few Rubbs in this Negotiation. The Duke readily agreed to confirm the Truce, though it had been often violated on the Part of the *English*. He even dropped the Demand of fifty Thousand Crowns, which he made the Damages his Subjects had sustained to amount to. The King on his Side quitted the Claims he had upon him for the Armament he had made in his Favour. Every Thing being thus upon the Foot of a perfect good Understanding between the two Princes, the Ambassadors acquainted

acquainted the Duke with the main Business of their Ambassy. They told him, that the King their Master was extremely desirous entirely to extinguish the Flames of the two Factions which had been so long kindled in *England*; that the Earl of *Richmond* who was in *Bretagne*, being the only Relict of the *House of Lancaster*, his Design was to marry him to one of his Daughters, in order to unite the two *Houses*; that therefore he desired him to send him the Earl, that he might give him Marks of his Good-Will, and let his whole Kingdom see his earnest Desire of procuring them a sweet and happy Tranquillity.

The Duke of *Bretagne* was a good Prince, who judging of others by himself, and not dreaming that *Edward* concealed ill Designs under the Appearance of Moderation, ordered the Earl of *Richmond* to be put into the Hands of the Ambassadors to be conducted to *England*. Some however have affirmed, that a large Sum of Money presented to the Duke by the *English* Ambassadors, made their Instances the more effectual. Be that as it will, they departed with their Prey in order to go and embark at *St. Malo's*. But whilst they were upon the Road, one of the Duke's Counsellors represented to him, that by the Step he had taken, he would render himself infamous to all Posterity; that besides, he could not in Conscience deliver up a Prince who thought himself *safe* under his Protection, to his most mortal Enemy, who demanded him purely to destroy him, under Colour of being desirous to match him with his Daughter; that he would be accountable to God for this Deed, what varnish soever he might put upon it in the Eyes of Men, and conjured him to reflect upon what Honour, Justice and Religion required of him upon this Occasion. Whether this Remonstrance made the Duke perceive what he had not well considered before, or whether it stung his Conscience with Remorse for the ill Thing he had done, he immediately dispatched away *Peter Landais* his Favourite, to *St. Malo's*, with Orders to get the Earl of *Richmond* out of the Hands of the Ambassadors, if they

The Duke gives up the Earl, and repents of it.

1476. were not yet embarked. *Landais* arrived just as they were going on Board the Vessel that was to carry them to *England*. He presently gave private Orders to help the two Prisoners to make their Escape, whilst he should be himself conferring with the Ambassadors. The Conference being over, the two Earls were found to have taken *Sanctuary* in a Church, from whence *Landais* pretended no one durst take them. The Ambassadors complained of this Fraud; but after some slight Excuses, he told them plainly that the Duke his Master upon second Thoughts had considered that he could not give up the Earl to the King, without an indeliable Stain to his Honour; That however, he would promise to keep him so safe, that he should never be able to do *Edward* any hurt. The Ambassadors finding themselves the weakest, were fain to take up with that Promise, which eased in some Measure their Vexation at having missed their Aim. Thus by a sort of Miracle, the Earl of *Richmond* escaped the Danger he saw himself in, Providence having preserved him upon this Occasion, in order to place him one Day on the Throne of *England*.

He gets him
again from
the Ambas-
sadors.

Alliance
with Den-
mark.
Act. Pub.
XII. 25.

The rest of the Year 1476. has nothing remarkable as to the Affairs of *England*, but a Negotiation to renew the Alliance with *Denmark*; the Death of the Archbishop of *York* at *Guifnes* where he was Prisoner, and some other Matters of little Moment. But it will be necessary to speak of the Affairs of the Duke of *Burgundy*, which became of very great Consequence both to *France* and *England*.

Affairs of
the Duke of
Burgundy.
Comin.

The Duke had accepted of the Truce offered him by *Lewis*, not so much out of fear of his Arms, as out of a Desire to carry the War into *Germany*. He wanted to be revenged of the Duke of *Lorraine*, the *Swiss*, and the Duke of *Austria*: but that would have been impossible, if he should have continued the War with *France*. Ever since the Month of *October* 1475, presently after he had signed the Truce with *Lewis XI.* he attacked the Duke of *Lorraine*, and took his whole Dutchy from him without meeting any Resistance except at *Nanci*, which

held

held out a two Months Siege. *Lorrain* being conquered, he formed the Project to humble the *Swiss*, who had dared to declare against him, whilst he was taken up at the Siege of *Nuz*. He used for Pretence the Injury they had done to *James of Savoy* Earl of *Romont*, in seizing his Territories. The *Swiss* who made yet no great Figure in *Europe*, seeing the Storm approaching, humbly sued for Peace: but the Duke was inexorable. And therefore leaving *Lorrain* in the Month of *March* 1476, he marched through *Burgundy*, and went and threw himself into the Country of *Vaux*, where he took three or four Towns. Then he laid Siege to *Granfon*, where there were seven or eight Hundred *Swiss* resolved to stand bravely upon their Defense. The Town having at length capitulated, the Duke broke the Capitulation, and put the Garrison to the Sword. Mean while, a Body of *Swiss* was advancing to relieve the Besieged: but they came too late. The Duke, contrary to the Opinion of his Council, resolved to go and meet that Body which was still in the narrow Passages of the Mountains. With this view he detached a Hundred Archers on Horseback, to go and seize a certain Pass; and presently after he himself marched to support them. The Archers having met the *Swiss* as they were coming out of the Mountains, hastily retreated towards the Body which were marching after them. Upon which, the Duke's Army imagining the Archers were beat back by the Enemy, were seized with a panick Fear, which made them take to their Heels, and it was impossible for the Duke to rally them. He lost in this Action but seven Men at Arms, but all his Baggage became a Prey to the Enemy.

This ill Success not being capable of disheartning him, *His Defeat* he drew together his scattered Troops, and brought *at Morat* them to themselves again. About fifteen Days after he took the Field, and went and laid Siege to *Morat*, a small Town within a few Leagues of *Bern*. Mean time, the *Swiss* having received Succours from some neighbouring Princes, marched to the Number of Thirty Thousand Men to fight him. The Battle was fought
three

1476.

three Weeks after the Rout of *Granson*, and the Duke was entirely defeated with Loss of Eight Thousand Men.

His Concern as it.

This deadly Blow struck the Duke in such a Manner that he sickened with Grief. *Philip de Comines* even affirms, that he was somewhat disordered in Mind. He abode six Weeks at a Town called *la Riviere*, where he kept himself as it were hid, and no one durst venture to speak to him to comfort him. In the mean time, several of the Princes who before were his Friends declared against him. Then the Duke of *Lorraine*, finding it a fair Opportunity, came and appeared before *Nancy*, and took the Place upon Capitulation, without the Duke of *Burgundy's* stirring to its Relief. At length, when it was too late, and the Town gone, the Duke of *Burgundy* approached, and his Enemy being retired, he undertook the Siege, wherein he met with Difficulties which made him lose a great deal of Time, and proved the Occasion of his Ruin.

1477.
His Defeat and Death at Nancy.

Mean while the Duke of *Lorraine* drew together Forces from all Quarters, *Lewis XI.* finding him Money for their Subsistence. When he thought himself strong enough, he approached *Nancy*, and went and incamped at *St. Nicholas's*, waiting for Intelligence from one *Campobache* a *Neopolitan* Captain, who was in the Enemy's Army, and in whom the Duke of *Burgundy* had an entire Confidence. The City being reduced to Extremity, the Duke of *Lorraine* moved forward in order to join Battle. Then *Campobache* deserted his Master on a sudden with about Two Hundred Lances, and went over to his Enemy. He left behind in the Army Fourteen Men whom he had bribed, who were to try to alarm the Troops during the Fight, and to kill the Duke of *Burgundy* if they had an Opportunity. The Battle being fought the 5th of *January* 1477, the Duke of *Burgundy's* Army was put to rout, and he himself slain in the Forty-sixth Year of his Age. He had reigned Nine Years and a half amidst continual Troubles, taken up one while with defending himself against the open or secret Attacks of *Lewis XI.* another while with

with executing Projects beyond his Strength, which argued more of Ambition and Rashness, than of Prudence and Counsel.

1477.

The Death of the Duke of *Burgundy* made a very great Alteration, not only in the Affairs of the *Low-Countries*, but also in those of the neighbouring Princes. One may venture to say, that it was the first and principal Source of most of the Wars wherewith *Europe* has been troubled ever since that Time. The Duke of *Burgundy* left Issue but one Daughter called *Maria*, who was Heiress to his large Dominions, and whom he had entered into some Engagement to marry to *Maximilian* of *Austria*, Son of the Emperor *Frederick*. That Princess about Nineteen Years old saw herself immediately not only forsaken by all the late Duke her Father's Friends, but moreover exposed a Prey to *Lewis* XI. who took from her forthwith *Burgundy*, with the Towns upon the *Somme*, and even formed the Project to strip her of all the rest of her Dominions. In this pressing Necessity she had no other Remedy but the Assistance of the King of *England*, whose Interest it was to oppose the Growth of *Lewis's* Power. But *Edward's* whole *Council* being bribed and corrupted by the King of *France's* Bounties, *Maria* got nothing from that quarter but empty Wishes for her Prosperity, and good Words, which ended in nothing. To complete her Misfortune, the young Princess saw herself also exposed to the Tyranny of the People of *Gant*, who seizing her Person, removed all her Counsellors, beheaded two of them, and gave her a new Set entirely made up of their Creatures.

*Alterations
caused by
the Death
of the Duke
of Burgun-
dy.*

*Lewis
takes from
Maria part
of her Do-
minions.
Mezcray.*

*Maria is ty-
rannized o-
ver by the
Men of
Gant.*

In the mean time, they began to think of marrying the Princess. Some were for her having the *Dauphin* of *France*. But *Lewis* having already entered into Engagements with *Edward*, durst not disoblige him at such a Juncture. Others would have her married to the Duke of *Gueldres*, and others to a *German* Prince. There was scarce any body except herself but what was consulted about the Choice of a Husband. Mean while

*Several
Matches
are proposed
for her.*

Lewis

1477.
Act. Pub.
XII. 42.

Edward
refuses to
aid her.

His Reasons
for it.

Maria es-
pouses
Maximili-
an of Au-
stria.
Mezerai.
Lewis
grants him
a Truce.

Lewis continued his Conquests. In the Month of *May* 1477, the Emperor *Frederick* having sent Ambassadors to *Gant*, to renew the Treaty about the Marriage of *Maximilian* his Son with *Maria* the Dutches Dowager of *Burgundy*, Mother-in-law of the Princess, desired *Edward* her Brother to send Ambassadors into *Flanders* to assist her in that Affair. *Edward* agreed to it: But he would not promise to aid *Maria* against the King of *France*, though the *Flemings* and the Duke of *Bretagne* were very urgent with him. On the contrary, he agreed to prolong the seven Years Truce concluded at *Amiens*, till a Year after the Death of one of the two Kings. Thus *Edward* ran counter to the Interests of *England*, in suffering *France* to grow more powerful, and the *House of Burgundy* to fall to ruin. Three main Reasons hindered him from quarrelling with *France*. The first, that being grown corpulent and heavy, he found himself scarce fit to undergo the Hardships of War. The second, that his chief Counsellors were Pensioners to *France*. The third, that having promised the Princess *Elizabeth* his Daughter to the *Dauphin*, he was unwilling to do any thing that might obstruct the Match. Mean while, *Lewis* was extremely careful to keep him in this Temper, by punctually paying him the Pension of Fifty Thousand Crowns, and Ten Thousand yearly for the Ransom of Queen *Margaret*.

Thus *Maria* of *Burgundy* seeing herself forsaken by all those whose Interest it was to stand by her, had no other Remedy left but to marry Prince *Maximilian*, from whom however she could expect no great Matter of Assistance. The Nuptials being celebrated in the Month of *July*, *Lewis* XI. out of Regard to the Emperor, granted the new Duke of *Burgundy* a Truce for a Year, and restored him some Towns in *Haynault* which he had seized. Shortly after he received Ambassadors from *England*, who were come to endeavour to settle the Arbitration agreed upon, touching the Difference between the two Crowns. But he had then other Business which hindered him from thinking of this, and obliged him to put it off to a more proper Season.

The

The Beginning of the Year 1478 was pretty Calm as to the general Affairs I have been speaking of. But at the same Time there passed at the Court of *England* Things which wholly ingrossed the Attention of the Publick. This was the tragical Death of the Duke of *Clarence*, which it will be necessary to insist upon a Moment. That Prince was Haughty and Ambitious, of a fickle Temper, had no command of his Passions, took no Care to conceal his Sentiments, and in a Word, was of a very narrow Genius. Whilst the King his Brother lived unmarried, he could not help entertaining the Hopes of sitting one Day in the Throne, though there was little likelihood that *Edward* would always remain a Batchelor. The King's Marriage having destroyed this Project, he took a Disgust at the King himself, and especially at the Queen and her whole Family. As he took no Care to dissemble his Discontent, he brought on himself the Aversion of the Queen and her Creatures, who were not backward to do him ill-Offices. So that *Edward* began by degrees to slight him, and never troubled himself to help him to such Advantages as it is in the Power of a King to procure his Brothers. This Slight put the Duke so out of Humour, that he made no scruple to join with the Earl of *Warwick*, in order to dethrone his own Brother. He repented of it afterwards, and his Repentance proved *Edward's* Preservation, as hath been seen. He was in hopes he should quickly be rewarded for so signal a Service, reflecting only upon what he had done for the King, without considering the Danger he had brought him into. But *Edward* prejudiced against him, thought on the contrary, that the bare Pardon of the Injury was a Reward sufficient for the Service he had received. This Opinion was instilled into him by his Queen, who having lost the Earl of *Rivers* her Father during the Rebellion, could not forbear looking upon the Authors of it as the Objects of her Vengeance. On the other Hand, the Duke of *Gloucester* privately blew the Coals of Dissension between his Brothers as much as possible. He was a Prince of as great or greater Ambition than

1478.
Death of
the Duke of
Clarence.
Biondi.
Babing.
Tyriel.
Echard.

1477.

his Brother, but of a quite different Character ; he always proceeded to his Ends by Turnings and Windings which rendered his Ways imperceptible. Never did he say any Thing before he had well considered it ; whereas the Duke of *Clarence* lost himself by too freely speaking his Thoughts. It was a difficult Matter for two Brothers of so different a Make to love one another. But in their Discord, the Duke of *Clarence* took no Care to keep fair with his Brother, whereas *Gloucester* strove never to give him publicly any Advantage upon him. Mean while he privately did him ill Turns, which were so much the harder to be parryed as he suspected not from what Hand they came. All the Historians agree, that from this Time forward the Duke of *Gloucester* had thoughts of securing the Crown after the Death of the King, and that therefore the Duke of *Clarence* could not but be an Eye-sore to him. This was however an Attempt, the Execution whereof seemed very difficult, seeing his two elder Brothers had Children. But his Ambition made him think it practicable, by proceeding by Degrees. The first Step was to get rid of the Duke of *Clarence*. To that End, he endeavoured to render him odious to the King, and to cause him to look upon him as a secret Enemy who was privately labouring to supplant his Children. The Duke of *Clarence's* rash Expressions served wonderfully to help forward this Design. On the other Hand, the Queen who had a great Influence over the King, failed not to confirm his Suspicions.

Matters standing thus, it happened that the King, as he was hunting in a Park belonging to *Thomas Burdet* an intimate Friend of the Duke of *Clarence*, killed a white Deer which that Gentleman was extremely fond of. *Burdet* was so grieved at the Death of his beloved Deer, that in the first Transports of his Passion, he swore he wished the Horns were in the Belly of him that killed it. This was enough to get him accused of High-Treason, sentenced to dye, and executed within the space of two Days. Some say that his *Wife* concerned only the Person that advised the King to hunt

hunt in his Park. Be that as it will, there is no question but the Design of those that so hotly prosecuted that unfortunate Gentleman, was to induce the Duke of *Clarence* to do some rash Thing which might expose him. They knew too well his inconsiderate, impetuous and haughty Temper, not to be sure of that. Accordingly the Duke, who was then in *Ireland*, being returned to Court, talked very boldly to the King about the Death of his Friend, and bitterly complained of the little Regard he had for a Brother to whom he was beholden for his Restoration to the Throne. In fine, he was so far transported with Anger, that he threatened to be revenged. Neither was that all. After he had left the King, he no less indiscreetly dropped some Words, intimating that his Brother was a *Bastard*, and consequently had no Right to the Crown. Nothing being more agreeable to the Desire of his Enemies, than to see him thus rush headlong into the Snare they had laid for him, they exasperated the King against him to such a Degree, that he resolved to destroy him. To that Purpose he held a Council, wholly consisting of the Duke of *Clarence's* Enemies, wherein it was resolved to apprehend him, to impeach him of High-Treason, and to bring the Impeachment before the Parliament, which was then assembled. All this was done immediately, that the Duke might not have Time to repent and beg the King's Pardon. The Truth is, had he had Time to come to himself, and had gone and thrown himself at the King's Feet and begged Pardon, his rash Expressions could not but have been considered as the Effect of a sudden Passion, which deserved not the severe Punishment they designed him. His Business being brought before the Parliament, he was accused of several Crimes under the eight following Articles. I. That by his seditious Discourses, he had endeavoured to draw upon the King the Hatred of his Subjects, by accusing him of having unjustly put *Burdet* to Death. II. That he had bribed some of his Domesticks and others to spread such a Report. III. That he had said the King made use of *Necromancy* to

1478.

know the Future. IV. That he had taxed the King with having poisoned innocent Persons, whom he thought he could not put to Death in a legal Way. V. That he had affirmed, the King was not Son of the Duke of *York*, but of one the Dutcheſſes their Mother had admitted to her Bed. VI. That inferring from thence, that the Crown was fallen to him, he had diſcovered his Deſign to ſeize it, by requiring many to ſwear to ſerve him againſt all Persons living, not excepting the King himſelf. VII. That he had accused the King of uſing *Magick* to take away his Life, by cauſing him to conſume away like a Taper. VIII. Laſtly, That he had openly ſhown his Deſign to de-throne the King, by procuring an authentick Copy of the Act of Parliament paſſed during the Earl of *Warwick's* Uſurpation, whereby the Crown was adjudged to him, after the Death of *Henry VI*, and his Heirs-Male.

All the Hiſtorians agree, that it would have been a very difficult Matter to prove all theſe Articles of Im-peachment, if the King himſelf had not declared himſelf a Party, and if the Queen and the Duke of *Glouceſter* had not acted underhand to have him found guilty. Be that as it will, he was condemned to die. But there is in this Sentence one Thing very remarkable. One of the chief Reaſons of his Condemnation was, his having affirmed that the King was not Son of the Duke of *York*, and that very Thing ſerved afterwards for Foundation to the Duke of *Glouceſter* to mount the Throne, to the Prejudice of *Edward's* Children. One cannot help admiring in this the Blindneſs of Men, and the Juſtice of God. *Edward* makes uſe of a falſe Accuſation to put his Brother to Death, and thereby opens a Door to Suſpicions, which are one Day to ſerve to ruin his own Children. The Duke of *Clarence* being condemned, all the Favour he could get of the King his Brother, was to chuſe what Death he would die. To avoid appearing on a Scaffold, he deſired to be ſuffocated in a Butt of *Malmſey* Wine. He left one Son named *Edward*, who inherited from his Grandfather by

*He is ſuffo-
cated in a
Butt of
Malmſey.*

His Iſſue.

by the Mother's Side, the Title of *Earl of Warwick*, and a Daughter called *Margaret*, who was Countess of *Salisbury*. As the Death of the Duke of *Clarence* raised among the People a general Indignation and Murmurs against the King, they thought they should be able to put a stop to them, by exposing his Body in *St. Paul's Church*, and giving out, that he died with excess of Grief. But this Artifice was not capable to blind the Eyes of the People, who saw too plainly in the Condemnation of that Prince, the terrible Effects of the Malice of his Enemies *.

About three Months before, the King had created *Edward* his eldest Son *Prince of Wales*, and his second Son *Richard*, *Duke of York*. The Rejoycings at Court upon this Occasion, expressed not so much the Joy of the Favourites upon the Promotion of the two Princes, as their Satisfaction to see the Project of the Duke of *Clarence's* Ruin so near accomplished. *Edward* foresaw not that the unjust Plot he was contriving against his Brother, was the first Step towards the Destruction of his own Sons. Had the Duke of *Clarence* lived, never would the Duke of *Gloucester* have had the Thoughts of sacrificing them to his Ambition, as he did afterwards.

Edward creates his eldest Son Prince of Wales, and his youngest Duke of York.

Shortly after the Death of the Duke of *Clarence*, the Term *Lewis XI* and *Edward* had taken to decide their Differences by Arbitration, was farther prolonged, and the Duke of *Gloucester* appointed by *Edward* one of the Arbitrators, in the room of the Duke of *Clarence*.

Aq. Pub. XII. 52---61.

Whilst these Things were in Agitation in *England*, the Truce between *Lewis* and *Maximilian* being expired, *Maximilian* entered *Burgundy* and took several Places with a great deal of Ease ; by Reason of the People's Affection for the House of *Burgundy*. In all Appearance he would have taken Possession of the two *Burgundies*, if he had received from the Emperor his Father

Embassy from Lewis XI to Edward. p. 86.

* His Body was buried at *Temkesbury* in *Gloucestershire* by that of his Dutcheß, *Isabella* Daughter and Coheir of *Richard Nevil* the great Earl of *Warwick*. She being with Child is said to dye of Poison a little before.

1478. Father Succours proportionable to his Wants. This was what *Lewis* feared very much, and as he was sensible it was *Edward's* Interest to join Forces with *Maximilian*, he omitted nothing that could help to divert him from it. In the Month of *July* this Year, he sent a full Power to prolong the Truce till a hundred Years after the Death of the two Kings, and to oblige him to the Payment of the yearly Pension of fifty Thousand Crowns, so long as the Truce should last. Moreover the Ambassador was empowered to prolong for three Years the Term agreed upon, to decide the Difference by Arbitrators, and to promise for *Lewis* and his Successors, to prolong it every third Year, till all Things were ended. The Ambassador being come to *London*, *Edward* appointed Commissioners to treat with him; and at length the Treaty was concluded upon the Foot *Lewis* proposed. But this was not till *February* 15th, 1479.

Lewis
shifts off the
Dauphin's
Marriage
with *Elizabeth*.
p. 89.

What delayed a little this Negotiation was *Edward's* Desire, first to make sure of his Daughter *Elizabeth's* Marriage with the *Dauphin*. To that End he sent two Ambassadors into *France*, with Power to make the Contract of Marriage. But apparently *Lewis* found some Excuse to put it off. Mean while he made the second Payment of ten Thousand Crowns for Queen *Margaret's* Ransom.

Lewis's
Offer to
Edward.
Rubing.
Brendi.

Thus *Edward*, contrary to his own Interests and those of the Kingdom, suffered himself to be managed by the King of *France*, or rather by his own Ministers, whom that Prince had bribed. *Lewis* not content with taking him off by his Intrigues from assisting the Dutcheſs of *Burgundy*, sent him a Proposal to divide betwixt them that Prince's Dominions, offering him for his share *Flanders* and *Brabant*. *Edward* closed with the Proposal, but upon this Condition; that in Exchange for the Towns which should be conquered in *Flanders*, *Lewis* should give him others in *Picardy*, and particularly *Bulloin*. But *Lewis* was too much afraid of the neighbourhood of the *English*, to accept of that Condition. If he proposed to him the Conquest of *Flanders*,

ders, it was only with a view to engage him in a War with *Maximilian* and *Maria*, for fear he should one time or other repent of having deserted them. 1478.

But *Edward* was far from any such Thoughts; instead of thinking of War, he wholly addicted himself to his Pleasures, having no other Design than to pass the Residue of his Days in effeminate Sloth. Mean while, the Pleasures which he pursued with so much Eagerness were more chargeable to him than the most burdensome War. And therefore his Coffers being empty, he used divers illegal Methods to extort Money from his Subjects. That which occasioned the greatest Terror was his procuring the Rich to be accused of High-Treason, in order to confiscate their Estates to his own Use, or to squeeze out of them large Sums for their Pardon. In the mean time, he kept on foot with several Princes, Negotiations which tended to secure him the Countenance of that Ease he was so very fond of. 1479.

Edward gives himself up to Pleasures.

He raises Money by ill Means.

The first of these Negotiations was with the King of *Denmark*, the Alliance they had made not having been well kept on either Side. At last, that Prince having sent Ambassadors to *London*, the Alliance was confirmed and renewed, and a Congress appointed at *Ham-burgh*, to decide all their Differences. One of the Conditions of the Treaty was, that the *English* should not set Foot in the Isle of *Iseland*, without a Pass from the King of *Denmark*. Negotiation with Denmark. Act. Pub. XII. 100.

Two Days after the Conclusion of this Treaty, the *French* Ambassador and the King's Commissioners signed that spoken of before, whereby *Lewis* XI. bound himself and his Successors to pay to the King of *England* Fifty Thousand Crowns every Year, as well during the Life of the two Kings, as a Hundred Years after, to commence at the Death of the longest liver. Next Day they signed also another Treaty, whereby the Truce, Friendship and good Understanding between the two Kings was to last during their Life, and between their Successors, during the Space of a Hundred Years, with Promise of assisting one another against their rebellious Subjects. The other Articles were, that Treaty between Lewis and Edward, p. 101.

1479. *that* if either of the two Princes should come to be driven out of his Kingdom, the other should be obliged to receive him, and assist him with all his Forces: *That* they should make no Alliance without each other's Consent: *That* the King of *France* should ratify this Treaty, and cause it to be confirmed and ratified by the *States*: And that *Edward* should get it likewise confirmed by the Parliament. Lastly, *That* the *Dauphin's* Marriage with the Princess *Elizabeth* should be completed, according to the Agreement at *Amiens*, and that this new Treaty should not be derogatory to the former. It does not appear that *Lewis XI.* ever ratified this Treaty, which in all appearance was made only to amuse *Edward*. *Lewis* knew very well that he was bound to nothing without a formal Ratification, which doubtless he had resolved not to grant, though the Treaty contained only such Articles as he himself had proposed. This was one of *Lewis's* Artifices, against which it is a very hard Matter to be provided. With Princes of this Character the shortest and surest way would be never to enter into a Negotiation.

Project of a Marriage between Philip of Austria, and Anne Edward's Daughter,
p. 110.

As *Lewis* amused *Edward* with the Marriage of *Elizabeth* with the *Dauphin*, *Maximilian* used the same Means to gain him to his Interests. Though *Philip* his Son was but a Year old, he offered *Edward* to marry him with *Anne* his third Daughter. *Edward* accepted the Offer; and in the mean time till they could agree upon Marriage-Articles, the two Princes sent one another *Letters Patents*, promising not to marry their Children without each other's Consent, during the Space of three Years.

and of his Daughter Catharine with the Infanto of Spain,
p. 110.

About the same time *Edward* had thoughts of marrying *Catherine* his fourth Daughter to *John*, Infanto of *Castile* and *Arragon*, Son of King *Ferdinand*, and *Isabella* of *Castile*. It even appears by *the Collection of the Publick Acts*, that he sent Ambassadors into *Spain* to forward the Business, which however came to nothing.

Lewis duly pays the Pension.

Mean while *Lewis* duly paid the Pension of Fifty Thousand Crowns, as appears by several *Acquittances* in *the Collection of the Publick Acts*. We find there likewise,

likewise, that in the Month of *May* 1480. he compleated the Payment of *Margaret's* Ransom.

1479.

Lewis readily performed all the Articles of the Treaty of *Amiens*, except that of the *Dauphin's* Marriage, which he still found some fresh Excuse to shift off, though he persisted in his Promise to fulfil that Engagement. *Edward*, surprized at all these Delays, called a Council upon that Occasion, wherein it was resolved that he should send Ambassadors to *Lewis*, peremptorily to demand the Performance of his Promise, and the Ratification of the late Treaty at *London*. The Lord *Howard* and *Thomas Langton* Treasurer of the Church of *Exeter*, were pitched upon for this Embassy. *Howard*, who was one of *Edward's* Confidants, was in all appearance the chief of those that had suffered themselves to be won by the King of *France's* Favours.

He amuses Edward,

who sends him Ambassadors.

In the mean time *Lewis* was in no small Trouble. He had given his Word for the Marriage, and had even bound himself by a Treaty, though he had never any thoughts of concluding it. On the other Hand, his Ambassadors at *London* had signed another Treaty upon the Foot he himself had proposed it, and yet he was bent not to ratify it. His sole Aim had been to amuse *Edward*, for fear he should join with the Arch-Duke. To get out of this Perplexity, he resolved to dissemble and to continue to promise the compleating of the Match, whilst, by Ambassadors whom he had sent to *Scotland*, he tried to persuade *James III.* to break the Truce with *England*. This Negotiation succeeded to his Wish. King *James* suffered himself to be guided by three Favourites whom he had raised from the Dust, and took Advice of no Lord of his Realm. It was no hard Matter for the King of *France* to bribe these mercenary Souls, who promised to induce their Master to break the Truce with the *English*. And indeed, very soon after *James* made Preparations which plainly discovered his Design. *Edward*, surprized at the Rupture like to be between the King of *Scotland* and him, was at no great Loss to guess the Author of it. He dissembled however his Resentment, and con-

Lewis continues to amuse him.

He stirs up the King of Scotland against him.

1479. tented himself with ordering an Army to be raised, the Command whereof he resolved to confer on the Duke of *Gloucester* his Brother. Then it was, and not before, that he began to open his Eyes, and perceive the Treachery of the King of *France*, who had fooled him with false Promises ever since the Death of the Duke of *Burgundy*. Mean while, though he had let slip the fair Opportunities that had offered, yet he turned his Thoughts, though too late, to Revenge. This is what appears by several Pieces of *the Collection of the Publick Acts*, all bearing date in the Year 1480, before the *Scots* had actually broke the Truce.

Edward
begins to
open his
Eyes,
p. 117.

Embassy to
Castile,
p. 119.

First, He sent Ambassadors to *Castile* to make Reparation for certain Outrages committed by the *English* during the Earl of *Warwick's* Administration, contrary to the Alliance between *Castile* and *England*. When a Prince offers of his own accord to repair the Damage his Subjects have done to another Nation, there is room to presume it is done with a View to some other Design. *Edward's* was to engage the King of *Castile* to make War with *France*, or at least to hinder him from assisting *Lewis*.

Treaty with
Denmark,
p. 119.

In the second Place, he ratified the Treaty his Ambassadors had concluded at *Hamburg*, with the King of *Denmark*.

Edward
promises to
aid Maxi-
milian,
p. 123, 124.

Thirdly, He confirmed the Treaty of Alliance he had made with the late Duke of *Burgundy*, and promised to send *Maximilian* and *Maria* an Aid of Six Thousand Men, pursuant to the Treaty. The Archduke obliged himself on his Part to pay him Fifty Thousand Crowns yearly, in case the King of *France* should discontinue his Pension, and a War should ensue between them upon that Score.

He con-
cludes the
Marriage
of his
Daughter
with
Philip.
p. 128.

Lastly, The Marriage of *Philip* Earl of *Charolois* Son of *Maximilian* and *Maria*, with *Ann* Daughter of *Edward* was concluded, with Promise on both Sides to have it consummated as soon as the Parties should be of Age. By this Treaty *Edward* gave with his Daughter a Hundred Thousand Crowns. But by a subsequent Treaty, the Dowry was set against the yearly Pension of

of Fifty Thousand Crowns, which the Archduke was obliged to pay instead of the King of *France*, and they gave one another a Discharge.

1480.

By another Treaty, *Edward* promised to use his Endeavours to procure *Maximilian* a Truce with the King of *France*, to offer to become Arbitrator between *Lewis* and him, to try to be accepted of as such, and if *Lewis* refused, he passed his Word to declare against him. This Proceeding was none of the fairest; but apparently, he did not think himself obliged to act more sincerely than *Lewis* had done with respect to him.

He promises to declare against Lewis if he is not made Umpire.
P. 133.

Edward having thus settled his Matters with *Maximilian* and *Maria*, sent again Ambassadors to *France*, to press the Marriage of his Daughter *Elizabeth* with the Dauphin. If *Lewis* had complied, it is very likely he would have made no scruple to drop the Archduke. But *Lewis* having put him off as usual, with some poor Excuse, he fitted out a Fleet, and gave the Command of it to *John Middleton*, to go to the Assistance of his new Allies.

Embassy to France.

A Fleet to aid Maximilian,
p. 137.

In the mean time the King of *Scotland* continued his Preparations with a Design to break with *England*. But before I speak of the Issue of this War which *Edward* so little expected, it will be proper briefly to relate what was doing then in *Scotland*, and how Matters stood in that Kingdom.

1481.
The King of Scotland prepares for War.

James III. who came to the Crown at seven Years of Age, being out of his Minority, had suffered himself to be so corrupted by Flatterers, that he made his Will the sole Measure of his Actions. Without giving a particular Account of the Outrages he committed against his Subjects, it will be sufficient to say in a Word, that he was looked upon as a real Tyrant. He had three *Ministers* or Favourites, Men of mean Birth, who ruled him with an absolute Sway, and had no other view but to render him Independent of the Laws, that they themselves might govern in his Name with an arbitrary Power. The King had two Brothers, namely, *Alexander* Duke of *Albany*, and *John*. *John* having spoken too freely of the King his Brother's Conduct,

Affairs of Scotland. Buchan.

James oppresses his Subjects

He gives himself up to his Favourites

Put one Brother to Death, and imprisons was another.

1481. was thrown into Prison, where they took away his Life, by causing his Veins to be opened. As the Favourites were afraid that *Alexander* would revenge his Death, they got the King to shut him up in a Castle.

Edward
prepares for
his Defense.

At this Juncture it was that *James*, hated by his People, and especially by the Nobility, took in Hand to break the Truce with the *English*, without having the least Pretence. *Edward* beheld with Grief a Rupture approaching, which would take him off from the War with *France*, upon which he was very much bent. In the mean while, not to omit all necessary Precautions, he gave Orders for the Defense of the Borders, and at the same Time, committed to certain Persons in *Ireland*, the Care of making an Alliance in his Name, with the Earl of *Ross* Lord of the *Isles*, that he might give all his Enemies a Diversion from that Quarter.

Act. Pub.
XII. 140.

James en-
ters Eng-
land, and
carries off
some Booty.
Edward
thinks more
of France
than Scot-
land.

In the Month of *June* 1481, the *Scots* made an Ir-ruption into the Borders before *Edward's* Army was ready. They carried off some Booty, and that was all that mighty Expedition came to. *Edward* was not over-hasty to send an Army against *Scotland*, as well because he hoped still to make up Matters amicably, as because he was very sensible that King *James's* Circumstances were such, that he could not do him much hurt. His grand Design was to be revenged of *Lewis XI.* For although that Prince, with his usual Dissimulation, still put him in hopes that he would perform his Promise as to the Marriage, and though he punctually paid Twenty-five Thousand Crowns every six Months, *Edward* plainly perceived, that he intended not to be as good as his Word with regard to the first Article, and that a Rupture would be unavoidable.

Project of
Marriage
between the
Prince of
Wales and
Ann of
Bretagne.
Act. Pub.
XII. 142.

Upon this Account it was that he renewed his Alliance with the Duke of *Bretagne*, and concluded the Marriage of the Prince of *Wales* his Son, with *Ann* eldest Daughter of that Duke, or in case she should happen to die before Consummation, with *Isabella* her younger Sister, upon these Conditions ; That if there should be several Sons, the second, or he that was next to him that should succeed to the Crown of *Eng-land*,

land, should be Duke of *Bretagne*, and reside in the Country ; *That* if the Duke should hereafter have a Son born in Wedlock, he should espouse her of *Edward's* Daughters that should be most suitable to his Age ; *That* if *Edward* had no Daughter to give him, the Duke should not marry his Son without the King's Consent. Lastly, it was agreed betwixt them, that if the King of *France* should make War upon the Duke of *Bretagne*, *Edward* should send the Duke an Aid of three Thousand Men at his own Charge. The Duke was obliged to do the same in Case of a War between *England* and *France*.

In the Beginning of the Year 1482, *Edward* renewed his Alliance with *Portugal*. Shortly after he sent Ambassadors to *Castile*, to conclude the Marriage of his Daughter *Catherine* with the *Infanto*. But that Business succeeded not to his Wish. All these Treaties, these Renewings of Alliances, these Projects of Marriages, show that *Edward* intended to wage War with *France*.

1482.
Alliance
with Por-
tugal.
p. 145.
Negotia-
tion for a
Marriage.

Whilst *Edward* was intent upon every Thing that could contribute to the good Success of his Undertaking, *Alexander* Duke of *Albany* Brother of the King of *Scotland*, made his Escape out of his Confinement, and came by Sea into *England*, to implore the King's Protection. Besides the general Reasons which all the *Scots* had to complain of their Sovereign, *Alexander* had very great ones in particular. The Death of the Duke his Brother, and his own Imprisonment, put him upon eagerly seeking the means to be revenged, and without doubt, Ambition was no small Spur to his Passion. The *English* and *Scotch* Historians have limited his desire of Revenge to some general Views of bringing the King his Brother into the Right Way, and procuring to himself the Restitution of his Estate. But the Collection of the Publick Acts furnishes authentick Evidences that *Alexander's* Design was to get Possession of the Throne. We find there a Treaty he made with *Edward*, wherein he assumes the Title of King of *Scotland*, and promises to do Homage for that Kingdom to the Crown of *England*. He binds himself likewise to

The Duke of
Albany e-
scapes into
England.
Buchan.

Treaty of
the Duke of
Albany
with Ed-
ward.
June 10.
p. 156.

break

1482.

The Duke of Gloucester marches into Scotland.

p. 157. and takes Berwick.

break the antient Alliance of *France* with *Scotland*, and to make one with *Edward* against *Lewis XI*, to yield up *Berwick* to *England*, and to marry *Cicely Edward's* Daughter, betrothed to Prince *James* his Nephew, provided that by the Decree of the *Church*, he could be divorced from his Wife. That in Case he could not, he promises not to marry his Son but to a Princess of the Royal Family of *England*. *Edward* obliges himself on his Part, to Aid him with all his Power to take Possession of the Throne of *Scotland*. This Treaty being signed, *Edward* sent an Army against *Scotland*, under the Command of the Duke of *Gloucester* his Brother, whom the Duke of *Albany* would accompany, but without taking however the Title of King. Apparently the Treaty I have been speaking of, was a secret known but to few Persons. At the same Time *Edward* gave the Command of a Fleet to *Robert Ratcliff*, to act against *Scotland*. The Duke of *Gloucester* having advanced to the Borders of the two Kingdoms, took the Town of *Berwick*, and not being willing to lose Time in besieging the Castle, left it invested and marched directly to *Edinburgh*.

Troubles in Scotland. Buchan. Biond. Rabing.

Whilst the Duke of *Gloucester* was moving forward at the Head of his Army, King *James* who had entered upon this War without any Manner of Reason, and without having taken Measures for the vigorous Prosecution of it, was at a great Loss what to do. The only means he had to withstand the *English* was to assemble the Nobility; but he durst not undertake it, knowing how much dissatisfied they were with him and his *Ministers*. There was a Necessity however to resolve upon it, or to cast himself upon the Mercy of the *English*. Wherefore having summoned the Lords, they came with their Troops to *Louthber*, where the King expected them. But to what Streights soever that Prince was drove, he altered not his Conduct. His three Favourites were his sole Council, and not a Man hardly dared to come near him but themselves or their Creatures. The Nobles, full of Indignation at this Management, were resolved to embrace so fair

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an Opportunity to get rid of those that beset the King. After having consulted together about what was to be done, some of them came to the King's Apartment well attended, and having carried off the three Favourites who had sheltered themselves in his Room, they brought them to the Army, where they caused them to be hanged out of hand. *James* in a great Fright, dreading they would make an Attempt upon his Life, promised to reform his Conduct for the future. But a few Days after he withdrew to the Castle of *Edinburgh*. So that the Army being without a Leader, disbanded themselves, and the Lords returned to their own Homes.

The Duke of *Gloucester* having had Intelligence of this Confusion, hastened his march to *Edinburgh*, and entered the City without Opposition. He would fain have had a Conference with the King, but it was not possible so much as to get it proposed to him. This Obstinacy not to hearken to any Thing, obliged the Duke of *Gloucester* to publish, by sound of Trumpet, in all the Quarters of *Edinburgh*, that if before the Month of *September*, the King of *Scotland* would not observe the Treaties made with the King of *England*, he would put the whole Kingdom to Fire and Sword. King *James's* Engagements were chiefly to keep the Truce, and pay back the Money he had received for the Dower of the Princess *Ciceley*, betrothed to the Prince his Son. To which the Duke of *Gloucester* added, that he should recall the Duke of *Albany* and restore him to his Estate and Honours. *James's* equally unable to resist his Enemies and to perform his Engagements, made no Answer. Mean while the Nobles being assembled at *Hadington*, sent Deputies to the Duke of *Gloucester*, to acquaint him that it was their earnest Desire that the intended Marriage should be consummated, and that it should not be their Fault if the Truce were not particularly observed. The Duke of *Gloucester* replied, that the Marriage not having been projected but purely to keep up a good Understanding between the two Nations, and King *James* having designedly

The Duke of Gloucester becomes Master of Edinburgh

The Nobility send Deputies to him.

1482.

signedly broke it without any Provocation, he did not know whether the King his Brother desired the Match should be consummated : That however he had orders to receive the Sums that had been payed in part of the Princess's Dower : That as to the Truce, they might be sure it would be kept by *England*, provided the King his Brother was put in Possession of the Castle of *Berwick*, or at least, the *Scots* would promise not to give any Assistance to the besieged.

The Duke of Albany procures a Peace.
Act. Pub.
XII. 160.

Matters standing thus, the Duke of *Albany* demanded of the *Scotch* Lords a Safe-Conduct, and having obtained it, he went and talked with them in Person. In the Conference it was agreed, *That* the Duke of *Albany* should be made Regent of *Scotland* : *That* the Citizens of *Edinburgh* should be obliged to pay the King of *England* the Money *James* had received, in Case the Marriage intended should not take Effect : Lastly, *That* the Castle of *Berwick* should be surrendered to the Duke of *Gloucester*. For the Duke of *Albany's* private Security, the Archbishop of *St. Andrews*, the Bishop of *Dunkald*, the High-Chancellor, the Earl of *Argyle*, bound themselves to procure him a general Pardon for all Crimes whatever, even for attempting to dethrone the King, and to get him restored to his whole Estate. On the other Hand, the Duke promised to acknowledge the King his Brother for his lawful Sovereign, and to swear Allegiance to him. This gives Ground to presume that the Treaty he had made with *Edward* was known in *Scotland*, or that the Duke thought proper to discover it, that it might be included in the Pardon. This Agreement being made, the Duke of *Albany* gave over his Project of mounting the Throne, either out of pure Generosity, or because he believed he should find it too difficult a Task. On the other Side, the Duke of *Gloucester* went and passed some Time at *Newcastle*, till the King his Brother should let him know his Pleasure touching his Daughter's Marriage.

The Duke of *Albany* seeing himself thus Master of the Kingdom, restored the King his Brother to his former State, without reserving to himself any thing but his own Estate, and the Glory of his Generosity. *James* pleased, as one may believe, to have got off thus for a little Fear, seemed at first to behave in a very different Manner from what he had done before: Presently after, he resolved to go to *Amiens* and visit the *Relicks* of *St. John*, or perhaps to take new Measures with *Lewis XI.* But I do not know whether he put his Design in Execution, though one finds in *the Collection of the Publick Acts* a Safe-Conduct for him and a Thousand Attendants. Be that as it will, his Dissimulation lasted not long. He fell to his old Course of Life, and resumed his Enmity to his Brother, with a Resolution to dispatch him out of the Way. His Design was kept so private, that when the Duke was told of it, he had but just time to throw himself into a Fishing-boat, and escape to the Castle of *Dunbar* with a few Friends. From thence it was that he sent into *England* the Earl of *Angus* and some others to renew with *Edward* the Treaty they had made last Year, and which was set aside by the Accommodation which intervened. This Treaty was in effect confirmed *February 11. 1483*, with an addition of some Articles. But *Edward's* Death, which happened presently after, prevented it from being put in Execution. Mean while, the Duke of *Albany* having, pursuant to the Treaty, put the Fortrefs of *Dunbar* into the Hands of the *English*, and seeing no appearance of being succoured, withdrew into *France*, where he was unfortunately killed with the Splinter of a Lance, at a Tournament by the Duke of *Orleans*, who was afterwards King of *France* under the Name of *Lewis XII.*

1482.
James being restored
dissembles
his Resentment.
Buchan.

ibid.
p. 170.

He attempts his
Brother's
Life, who
escapes to
Dunbar.

1483.
He renews
his Treaty
with Edward,
p. 173.

He is killed
in France.
Biondi.

Edward's
Affairs are
in an ill
way upon
the Death
of the
Duchess
of Burgundy.
Mezerai.

The War with *Scotland* being ended, *Edward* turned all his Thoughts to the War he intended to carry into *France*. But he was far from having so fair an Opportunity to be revenged of *Lewis XI.* as he had before the Rupture with *Scotland*. *Maria* Dutcheß of *Burgundy*, being killed by a Fall from her Horse in the Month of

1483.

The Dau-
phin's
Marriage
with Mar-
garet.

March 1481, the Archduke her Spouse had so little Authority among the *Flemings*, that he saw himself constrained to suffer his Children by that Princess to remain in the Hands of the *Gantois*. Then *Lewis XI.* using all his Cunning to make the *Flemings* dread the Power of the *House of Austria*, ordered Matters so dextrously with the *Gantois*, that he got their Consent to give in Marriage to the *Dauphin* his Son, *Margaret* Daughter of their deceased Dutcheß, with the Earldoms of *Artois*, *Burgundy*, *Maconnois*, *Auxerre* and *Charolois*. This Negotiation was carried on with that Secrecy that *Edward* had no Intelligence of it; infomuch that *Lewis* still continued to amuse the *Englisb* Ambassadors, even after it was ended to his Wish. The first News they had of it was the Arrival of the young *Dauphiness*, two Years old, who was brought to *Paris* in the Month of *April* 1482. The Nuptials were solemnized in *July*. This was a very great Vexation, and deadly Affront to *Edward*, who had caused the Princess his Daughter to be stiled *Madam the Dauphiness*. He had perhaps forgot the Affront he himself had put upon *Lewis* with regard to his own Marriage, or else he imagined that *Love* would excuse him: but *Lewis* thought himself no less excused by *Politicks*, and what Kings call *Reasons of State*. Be that as it will, *Edward* full of Indignation and Rage, bent all his Thoughts to Revenge. But it was too late, the Opportunities he had let slip were lost past recovery. He could no longer rely upon the Assistance of the *Flemings*, who had just shown so openly their Attachment to the Interests of *France*. The Duke of *Bretagne* was seized with a *Melancholy* which rendered him incapable of any considerable Undertaking. The King of *Scotland* had no reason to be pleased, and all that *Edward* could expect from the Alliance he had made with the Kings of *Spain* and *Portugal*, was, that they would not give any Assistance to *Lewis*. So that to be revenged, *Edward* must, like *Henry V.*, attack *France* with the Forces of *England* alone. But *France* was very far from being in the same Circumstances as when *Henry V.* began the War. Nevertheless,

An ill
Judgment
for Ed-
ward.
Argentre.
Biond.

in

in spite of the little likelihood of succeeding in such an Undertaking, *Edward* was bent upon it. To that Purpose, he assembled all the Lords that were at Court or about *London*, and in a very moving Speech represented to them how great Reason the *English* Nation, and he himself in particular, had to resent the deadly Affronts put upon them by the King of *France*. He forgot not to display the Claim which the Kings of *England* had to the Crown of *France*. That was the chief Thing which would touch the Hearts of the *English*. In fine, he added whatever he thought capable to persuade them not only that it was necessary to go to War with *France*, but also that there was reason to expect good Success. There is no need of much Eloquence to induce the *English* to wage War with *France*. All the Lords, with one accord, declared that they thought the War just and necessary, and assured the King they were ready to stand by him with their Lives and Fortunes. The Report being spread over the Kingdom that the War with *France* was resolved upon, an extraordinary Joy appeared in Peoples Faces, as if they had received News of some great Victory.

1483.
He prepares
however for
War.

But whilst the Preparations were making for this important War, which was quickly to begin, *Edward* was seized with a mortal Distemper, which discovered to him the Vanity of all his Projects. As soon as he found he should die, he beheld with another Eye than he had done before, all that had wholly taken up his Thoughts during his past Life; and it is pretended that he shewed Marks of a sincere Repentance. But in the last Moments, none but the great Searcher of Hearts can judge of the Sincerity of what the Tongue expresses. *Edward* died the 9th of *April*, in the Forty-second Year of his Age, after a Reign of Two and Twenty Years and one Month. The Cause of his Death is variously reported. Some accuse the Duke of *Gloucester* of poisoning him. But this Accusation being grounded upon no Proof, ought not to be too hastily credited. *Philip de Comines* pretends, that *Edward* died with Grief and Vexation, to see himself fooled and deceived by *Lewis*

Death of
Edward
IV.

1483. XI. But we are to consider what he says only as a bare Conjecture, especially seeing *Edward*, as has been observed, was convinced of *Lewis's* Insincerity two Years before. The most probable Opinion is, that he died of a Surfeit, having used to try to divert his Cares with excessive eating and drinking.

Character
of Edward
IV.

I have spoken hitherto only of such of *Edward the IV's* Actions as have been the most noted, by reason of their Connexion with the Affairs of the Publick. It will be necessary now to say something of his Person, and to take a fuller View of the good and bad Qualities of his Mind and Body. But first, I cannot forbear to remark once more, that a Man must be upon his Guard with respect to the Historians that have spoken of this Prince as well as of *Richard III.* his Brother. The greatest Part wrote at a Time when the Throne was filled with the Princes of *the House of Lancaster*, who were extremely jealous of their Rights, and would not willingly bear that they should be touched upon, or that the Kings of *the House of York* should be well-spoken of. Those that wrote afterwards, when the *Civil Wars* were forgotten, have transcribed what they found in these first Historians, and have frequently given for Truth what was only the Effect of the Prejudice or Policy of the former Historians. For my Part, as I have no Motive to blacken the Reputation of this Prince, I have endeavoured to avoid this Fault, without concealing however either his Failings or his bad Qualities.

When *Edward* ascended the Throne, he was one of the handsomest Men in *England*, and perhaps in *Europe*. This is what all the World are agreed in. His noble Mien, his free and easy Way, his affable Carriage, won the Hearts of all at first Sight. These Qualities joined to an undaunted Courage, gained him among the People an Esteem and Affection, which stood him in great stead in several Circumstances of his Life. *Philip de Comines* affirms, that he owed his Restoration to the Throne to the Inclination which the *London-Ladies* had for him. But that would have been of little Moment, had

had he not likewise had the Affections of their Husbands, and in general, of the major Part of the Kingdom. If he had not depended upon the Hearts of the People, he would never have ventured to attempt to recover the Throne with the Help of Two Thousand Men, who were most of them Foreigners. For some time he was exceeding liberal; but at length he grew covetous, not so much from his natural Temper, as out of a Necessity to bear the immoderate Expences which his Pleasures ran him into. Though he had a great deal of Wit, and a sound Judgment, he committed however several Oversights. The first was when he suffered himself to be surprized by the Earl of *Warwick*. But that Fault was in great Measure repaired by the Dexterity and Readiness wherewith he got out of the Hands of the Archbishop of *York*. The second was to trust such Persons as betrayed him, and were sold to *France*. The third was to suffer himself to be so long imposed upon by *Lewis XI.* who was universally cried down for his ill Faith. Most of the Historians have mightily aggravated this Matter, as being ignorant that from the Year 1480. he began to take Measures to wage War with *Lewis*, as appears from what has been quoted out of *the Collection of the Publick Acts*. He is blamed likewise upon two other Accounts, wherein it is more easy to justify him. First, for having broke off the War already begun with *France* for an inconsiderable Sum of Money, at a time when he might have flattered himself with a Prospect of Success. But if a Man fully examines the Circumstances of that Affair, he will easily perceive that being forsaken by the Dukes of *Burgundy* and *Bretagne* his Allies, he would have acted a very rash Part to pursue with his own Forces alone the Execution of so great an Enterprize, wherein he would not, in all appearance, have come off with Honour. The other thing he is blamed for, is, his not joining with the Heiress of *Burgundy*, to stop the Progress of the King of *France*. I own that was really a Fault. But however, it may be considerably lessened, by reflecting on the Examples of several Princes eminent for their

Faults ascribed to Edward.

1483. their Abilities, who have behaved in the same Manner on the like Occasions. Uncertain of the Event, Princes often imagine they shall be great Gainers by setting their Neighbours at Variance, in hopes they will weaken one another. But it falls out sometimes, that the Issue answers not their Expectations. It is certain, that if *Maria of Burgundy*, and afterwards the Archduke her Husband had more vigorously withstood the Attacks of *Lewis XI.* nothing was more capable to render *Edward* the Umpire of *Europe*, than the mutual weakning of these two Powers. By this Conduct it was that he made himself courted by the King of *France* and the Duke of *Burgundy*, because he kept himself always in a Condition to make the Balance incline to one side. It may be he was in hopes it would be always the same: but he had to do with a Prince of more Cunning than himself.

Instances of his Cruelty. These are properly *political* Faults, which are often considered as such, only because of the Events which are not in the Power of Man. But the Crimes *Edward* is more justly charged with, are his Cruelty, Perjury and Incontinence. The first appears in the great Number of Princes and Lords that he put to Death on the Scaffold, after he had taken them in Battle. If ever there was room to show Mercy in case of Rebellion, it was at that fatal Time when it was almost impossible to stand Neuter, and so difficult to chuse the justest Side between the *Two Houses* that were contending for the Crown. And yet we don't see that *Edward* had ever any regard to that Consideration. The Death of the Prince of *Wales*, Son of *Henry VI.* murdered almost in his Presence; and that of *Henry* himself, innocent as he was, will perhaps be justified in some measure by those who think nothing unlawful when the securing a Throne is in question; but they will never be excused by those who have any Tincture of Religion. As to the Death of the Duke of *Gloucester*, I don't know whether it would be possible to find the least Excuse, if it be true, as it seems to be, that the Duke was innocent.

Edward's

Edward's Breach of Faith was visible in the unjust Punishment of the Lord *Wells* and his Brother-in-law, after he had enticed them out of *Sanctuary* by a Safe-Conduct, in punishing the *Bastard of Falconbridge* whom he had pardoned: And lastly, in the Oath he took at *York*, even when he was determined to break it. All these Actions are to be reckoned among those that cannot be justified but by political Reasons, a poor Excuse in all Matters where *Honour* and *Religion* are concerned.

1483.
*His Breach
of Faith.*

As for *Edward's* Incontinence, one may say that his whole Life was one continued Scene of Excess that way. He had abundance of Mistresses, but especially Three of whom he said, *One was the merriest*, the other the wittiest, and the third the boliest in the World, since she would not stir from the Church but when he sent for her.* He had however but two natural Children both by *Elizabeth Lucy*, to whom it was said he was contracted before his Marriage, *Arthur* surnamed *Plantagenet*, who was created Viscount *L'Isle* by *Henry VIII.* and *Elizabeth*, who was Wife of *Thomas Lumley*. I shall say nothing of *Edward's* Religion, since Historians have made no mention of it, but in relating his last Words upon his Death-bed.

*His Incon-
tinence.*

Baker.
Biondi.

What is most astonishing in the Life of this Prince, is his good Fortune, which seemed to be prodigious. He was raised to the Throne after the Loss of two Battles, one by the Duke his Father, the other by the Earl of *Warwick*, who was then devoted to the *House of York*. The Head of the Father was still upon the Walls of *York* when the Son was proclaimed at *London*. *Edward* escaped as it were by Miracle out of his Confinement at *Middleham*. He was restored to the Throne, or at least received into *London* at his Return from *Holland*, before he had overcome, and whilst his Fortune yet depended upon the Issue of a Battle, which the Earl of *Warwick* was ready to give him. In a Word, he was ever victorious in all the Battles wherein he fought in Person.

*His good
Fortune.*

Elizabeth

Jane Shore Wife to a Citizen of *London*.

1483.
His Issue.

Elizabeth his Queen brought him a numerous Issue, namely, three Princes and eight Princesses, of whom one Son and two Daughters died in their Infancy. We shall soon see the Fate of his eldest Son *Edward* who succeeded him, and of *Richard* Duke of *York* his Brother.

Elizabeth the eldest of his Daughters had been contracted to the *Dauphin* Son of *Lewis XI.* who was afterwards King of *France* by the Name of *Charles VIII.* In process of Time she was married to *Henry VII.* King of *England.*

Ciceley, who had been betrothed to the Prince of *Scotland*, espoused the Lord *Wells*; and afterwards, upon his Death, another whose Name I know not. She died without Issue.

Ann had been contracted to *Philip* Son of *Maximilian* of *Austria*, and *Maria* of *Burgundy*. But that Match not taking Effect, she married *Thomas Howard* Duke of *Norfolk*, by whom she had two Sons, who died without Issue.

Bridget was a Nun.

Mary, who had been promised to the King of *Denmark*, died at *Greenwich* before her Marriage was solemnized.

Catherine, whom the King her Father would have given to the *Infanto* of *Spain*, had for Husband *William Courtney* Earl of *Devonshire*, by whom she had a Son who was created *Marquiss of Exeter*, in the Reign of *Henry VIII.*

It must be remarked, that in the *English* Histories there is a continual *Anachronism* of a Year, and sometimes of two, from 1474 to the End of this Reign *.

* *Edward IV.* was buried at *Windsor*. In this Reign flourished several eminent Men, particularly *Thomas Littleton* Judge of the *Common Pleas*, and *John Fortescue* Judge and Chancellor of *England*. In the Year 1483, the last of this Reign, was born *Thomas Parr* a *Shropshire* Man, noted for his extraordinary great Age. He lived to the Year 1635. being then brought up to *London* by the Earl of *Arundel* as a great Rarity, where he died, after having lived in the Reigns of Ten Kings and Queens, aged 152 Years.

The End of the Reign of EDWARD IV.



K. EDWARD V.



THE

HISTORY of *ENGLAND.*

SECT. II.

17. EDWARD V.



AFTER the Death of *Edward IV.* ^{1483.} the Prince his eldest Son, between ED-
 twelve and thirteen Years of Age, WARD V.
 was proclaimed King by the Name of *Edward V.* is pro-
 The Reign of this Prince claimed
 April
 was short and unfortunate; if the
 two Months and twelve Days that he
 bore the Title of King, and which were wholly spent
 in depriving him of the Crown even before he had so-
 lemnly received it, may be called a Reign, and not
 rather be looked upon as an *Inter-regnum*. But however
 as during that short Space he was generally acknow-
 ledged for Sovereign of *England*, Historians have made
 no scruple to rank him among the Kings. The whole
 Matter of this Reign consists only of the Means made
 use of by the Duke of *Gloucester* to set aside the young
 King his Nephew, and to place himself in the Throne.
 But before I enter upon the Particulars of these detesta-
 ble Practices, it will be necessary to show how Mar-

1483.

ters stood at the Court of *England* before the Death of *Edward IV.*

State of the
Court be-
fore Ed-
ward's
Death.

Elizabeth Woodville who from a *Subject* was become *Queen*, by her Marriage with *Edward*, held the first Rank at Court, as well by her Privileges as *Queen*, as by her Power and Interest. Ever since her Marriage she had gained over the King a great Ascendant, which she kept to the Day of his Death. Her Birth by her Father's Side was not very considerable. But her Mother, who had been Wife of the famous Duke of *Bedford*, was of the *House of Luxemburgh*, Illustrious for the Princes, Kings and Emperors that had sprung from it. So that considering *Elizabeth* as derived from thence, it is not at all strange that she should have a great Soul, and think herself as worthy to command as the noblest Lords of *England*. Mean time, as her being *Queen* gave her no manner of Title to meddle with the Affairs of the Publick, she knew how to manage that Matter another way, namely, by the Influence she had over the King. Though *Edward* often proved false to her, she bore it very patiently, and never showed her Uneasiness at. *Edward* charmed to find himself at Liberty to pursue his Inclinations without danger of continual Reproaches, repayed her Moderation with the most obliging and condescending Behaviour, of which she knew how to make a good use. The raising of Sir *Richard Woodville* her Father to the Honour of *Earl of Rivers*, and the Marriage of her Brother with the richest Heiress of the Kingdom, were the first Proofs she gave of her Power. After that *Edward* heaped Honours and Riches upon her Family, even to the desiring to marry *Anthony* her Brother to a Sister of the King of *Scotland*, as may be seen in the *Collection of the Publick Acts*. When the Prince of *Wales* was of Age to have a Governour, it was this same Lord become *Earl of Rivers*, that was entrusted with that High-Office. The *Queen* forgot not her own Children by her former Husband Sir *John Grey* [of *Groby*.] *Thomas Grey* her eldest Son was made Marquis of *Dorset*, Governour of the *Tower*, and Keeper of the King's Treasures.

Treasures. *Richard Grey* his Brother, was created a Baron, and had a considerable Post about the Prince of Wales. 1483.

If the Queen had confined her Favours to her Sons, her Father and her Brother, there would have been no Reason to wonder at it. But it cannot be denied that she made an ill use of their Power, by causing to be created *Peers*, many Person who would have had no manner of Pretension to that Honour, if they had not been backed by her Favour. This gave occasion to the Distinction in those Days, between the *antient* and the *new* Nobility. But if that Distinction redounded not to the Honour of the last, that Disadvantage was amply made up by the Places of Honour and Profit which the Queen helped them to. By degrees she had as it were banished the antient Nobility from the Court, where scarce any were to be seen but Lords of the *new Creation*, all firmly attached to the Queen. It was much the same in all the rest of the Kingdom, where the most considerable Posts were filled by such as the Queen knew to be her Creatures. Her Aim was to secure her Power during the King's Life, and in Case she survived him, to make sure of the Government of the Kingdom in the Name of the Prince her Son, when he should come to be on the Throne. But by a Fatality not unusual to the best-laid Projects, this very Thing proved the Occasion of her own and her Family's Ruin.

The Queen having thus openly declared against the antient Families, it is easy to guess that she was not beloved. And therefore she took all possible Care to hinder the Lords whom she affected not, from having the King's Ear. Mean while it was not in her Power to expel the Court Three Lords of the antient Nobility whom the King had a great Affection for, because they had done him signal Services. These were *Henry Stafford* Duke of Buckingham, *William Hastings*, and *Thomas Stanley*.

Two Parties at Court, the old and the new Nobility.

The King protects the new Nobility.

Heads of the Nobility.

1483.
The Duke of
Buckingham.

The first, who was of a very antient Family, had moreover the Advantage of being descended from a Daughter of *Thomas of Woodstock* Duke of *Gloucester*, one of *Edward the Third's* Sons, and enjoyed the Office of *High-Constable*,

The Lord
Hastings.

The Lord *Hastings* was *High-Chamberlain*. The King had a particular Kindness for him, on the score of his firm Loyalty, of which he had given Proofs in the Time of his Adversity, especially when he was forced to fly into *Holland*. This Lord was a hearty Friend to the King, but he loved not the Queen; if he paid her any Respect, it was against the Grain, and purely out of Complaisance to the King his Master.

The Lord
Stanley.

The Lord *Stanley* of an antient Family, was in the same Case: He was devoted to the King without making much Court to the Queen.

Jane Shore
King Edward's
Mistress.

The King's Mistresses held likewise a considerable Rank at Court, on account of the Influence they had over him. There were three principal ones, among whom *Jane Shore* is the only one that was concerned in the Events of this new Reign. She was Wife to a Citizen of *London*, whom *Edward* had debauched and taken from her Husband. She was surprisingly beautiful, and withal of a Generosity very uncommon in Persons of her Character. The King was as much in love with her Temper as with her Beauty. He never heard her speak ill of any Body; neither did he ever find that she endeavoured to set him against any Person whatever. If she importuned him sometimes it was in Behalf of those that had unhappily fallen into some Disgrace. When she had done any Body a Kindness, she scorned to take a Reward, being unwilling to give Occasion to think that she acted out of Interest. And for that Reason she had laid up but few Riches, in Comparison of others in her Case, whose Greediness can never be satisfied.

Disimulation
of the
Duke of
Gloucester

The Duke of *Gloucester* Brother of the King, was somewhat at a Loss how to behave with respect to the two Parties that were forming at Court, and in the Kingdom. The only way to please the King, was to
make

make Court to the Queen. But on the other Hand, the Duke perceiving that the Queen's Drift was to engross the Government in Case the King should happen to die, could not adhere to her, without forfeiting the Good-Will of the antient Nobility, of which he might one Day stand in need. As he was naturally a great Master in the Art of Dissimulation, he resolved to make his Court publickly to the Queen, but in private he joined with the Duke of *Buckingham*, the Lord *Hastings*, and the Lord *Stanley*.

It is needless to say much of the two young Princes the Kings Sons, the eldest of whom was but a little above twelve Years old, and the Duke of *York* his Brother but nine, when the King their Father died. It will suffice to say, that before *Edward IV* was seized with the Distemper that laid him in his Grave, he had sent the Prince his eldest Son, with the Earl of *Rivers* his Governour, into *Wales* to appease some Commotions which had been raised there. The young Duke of *York* remained at Court with the Queen his Mother.

Edward IV sends his eldest Son into Wales.

Edward saw with some Concern the two Parties that were formed in his Court. But his Affection for the Queen not suffering him to hold the Balance even, he took no Care to prevent the Consequences. As long as he enjoyed his Health, he imagined, that during his Life he should be always Master of both, and that by strengthening the *new* Nobility he should hinder the *old* from being able to do any Thing to the Prejudice of the Queen and her Children after his Death. But when he came to die, he beheld this Division with another Eye. He considered that he left for support to his *House* new raised Families only, which had not had Time to be well established, but derived all their Authority and Credit purely from his Favour, which they were just going to be deprived of. The thoughts of this grieving him very much, he sought in himself the Means to repair the Fault he had committed, and in the Condition he was in, he could find no better way than to perswade the two Parties to become Friends for his sake. A poor Expedient ! which could not easily produce

Reconciliation of the two Parties before Edward's Death.

1483.

produce the Effect he expected. The Regard for a dying King, whom the antient Nobility had never loved, was hardly capable of extinguishing the Hatred and Jealousy they had entertained against the Queen's Relations, and which unhappily had been but too much fomented. However, before he died, *Edward* had at least the Satisfaction to see a Reconciliation which to him appeared to be sincere, by reason of the seeming Readiness and Chearfulness wherewith both Parties consented to his Request. The Earl of *Rivers* being absent, the Queen his Sister passed her Word for him, and the Marquis of *Dorset* her eldest Son, as representing the Family of the *Grey's* embraced the Duke of *Buckingham* and the Lord *Hastings*, who were the Heads of the opposite Party. The Duke of *Gloucester* being then at *York* about the King's Affairs, had it not in his Power to obstruct this Reconciliation, which indeed would have been very much to his Prejudice had it been sincere.

Measures
of both Parties
to seize
the Go-
vernment.

As soon as *Edward's* Eyes were closed, the two Parties forgetting their late mutual Protestations of Friendship, thought of nothing but how to get the better one of another. Mean while they agreed with one Consent, to cause the deceased King's eldest Son to be proclaimed by the Name of *Edward V.* That done, each Party took such Measures as they thought most proper to attain their respective Ends. The main Thing was to become Master of the King's Person, in order to govern in his Name. The Queen hoped to maintain and even to increase her Authority, during the Minority of the King her Son, and the other Party saw themselves undone to all Intents and Purposes, if the young Prince was once in the Hands of his Mother. However, thus far the Advantage was entirely on the Queen's Side. Immediately after the Death of the King her Husband, she had dispatched a Courier to the Earl of *Rivers* her Brother to carry him the News. At the same time she writ him Word that she believed it absolutely necessary that he should raise Forces in and about

bout *Wales*, to enable him to conduct the new King safely to *London*, in order to have him crowned. 1483.

On the other Side, the Duke of *Buckingham* and the Lord *Hastings* sent an Express to the Duke of *Gloucester* acquainting him with the King's Death and the Queen's Measures. And withal represented to him, that being Uncle by the Father's Side to the King, the Government of the Realm belonged to him, during the *Minority*; but that in Case he was not beforehand with the Queen, it would be in vain to expect afterwards to obtain what of Right was his Due. In fine, that let what would happen, they offered him a Body of a Thousand Men well armed and ready to March at the Word of Command.

Buckingham and Hastings stir up Gloucester to seize the King's Person.

It is pretty difficult to judge, whether before the Death of *Edward IV*, the Duke of *Gloucester* had any Thoughts of mounting the Throne to the Prejudice of his Nephews. But there is little room to question that he formed that Design the Moment he heard that the King his Brother was dead. All the Steps he made from thenceforward too plainly appear to be Consequences of a Scheme laid to compass that End. As for the Lord *Hastings*, it is certain his sole Intention was to take the Administration out of the Hands of the Queen and her Relations. The Affection he had all along shown for *Edward IV* would never suffer him to have any Hand in a Plot to dethrone the Prince his Son. As for the Duke of *Buckingham*, his Conduct is more doubtful. Besides his Hatred of the Queen and her Family, he had always had a particular Respect for the Duke of *Gloucester*, which affords room to suspect that he had joined with him from the very first, in the Design of placing him on the Throne. However the Historians ascribe to him only, at least in the Beginning of this Reign, the same Intention with the Lord *Hastings*, namely, to remove the Queen from the Government of the King's Person and of the Realm. Be that as it will, the Duke of *Gloucester* upon News of the King's Death sent back the Express immediately, with Orders

They Design only to remove the Queen from the Government.

Conference at Northampton.

to

1483.

to desire the Duke of *Buckingham* and the Lord *Hastings* to come and confer with him at *Northampton*.

*The Duke of
Gloucester's Speech
to his
Friends.*

These two Lords with some others of their Party being come to the Place appointed, the Duke of *Gloucester* made them a long Speech tending to show them the Danger that hung over their Heads, if the Queen should have the Government in her Hands. He told them, they would see themselves exposed to the Mercy of an imperious Woman, and of the two Families of the *Rivers's* and *Grey's* newly raised by the King his Brother, who would never think themselves thoroughly safe but by the Destruction of those whom they considered as their Rivals and Enemies. *That* the late King had kept them by his Authority, within some Bounds, but as soon as they should be possessed of the Supreme Power, in the Name of the young King, nothing would be able to curb their Insolence. He added, that no Person had more Right or was more concerned than he to take Care of the Affairs of the Kingdom, during the Minority of the King his Nephew. *That* all the World knew the great Affection he had always had for the King his Brother, and that therefore the tender Love he had for his Children suffered him not to leave them to the Mercy of those who had never appeared to have any other View but their own Promotion and Grandeur. *That* for these Reasons he was determined zealously to apply himself to promote with all his Might, the good of the Nation, and the Honour of his Nephew, principally by causing him to be Educated so as to enable him to tread in the Steps of his illustrious Ancestors. But *that* he could not hope to succeed in such an Undertaking, without the Assistance of all honest Men, especially of those to whom he was speaking, who without doubt had not as well as he, any other View but the Welfare and Glory of the Nation. *That* he had assembled them to consult with them about what was to be done in the present Emergency, being resolved to make no Step without their Advice.

This

This Speech having met with Applause, all the Lords entered into a serious Debate about what Means should be used to become Master of the King's Person. To bring it about by Force was hardly practicable. The Earl of *Rivers* had not only drawn together a good Number of Troops, but also it would have been very easy for him to conduct the King to *London*, before they should be in a Condition to hinder him. Besides, they would have given their Enemies too great an Advantage, if without any apparent Necessity, they had begun so soon to take up Arms. Such a Step would not have failed to cause the People to side with the opposite Party, and would have been looked upon as tending to obstruct the King's Coronation. These Considerations made the Lords resolve to use Policy. To that End, they agreed that they should continue to show a great Zeal for the King, to take from the Queen all pretence of raising Forces, or of keeping on Foot those which the Earl of *Rivers* had drawn together. That the Duke of *Gloucester* should try to persuade her to disband these Troops as useless. That in Case he succeeded, they should endeavour to get the King in their Power before he should come to *London*. But if on the contrary, the Queen was bent to keep these Forces, they should try to amuse her with Negotiations, till they were able openly to oppose her Designs.

1483.
Result of
the Conference.

The Conference being ended, the Lord *Hastings* posted to *London*, where his Presence was necessary, by reason of his great Interest in the City. Presently after the Duke of *Gloucester* sent the Queen a Letter of Condolance upon the King's Death, expressing an extreme Affection for the young Prince that succeeded him, and an extraordinary Respect for her. After this Beginning he told her, "That he beheld with great Joy
"all Hearts united in the same Sentiments, the which
"afforded him a good Prospect that the King his
"Nephew would pass his Minority in a profound
"Tranquillity. That for his Part he would do all
"that lay in his Power to keep the People in the Obedience due to their Sovereign, by giving them him-

Hastings
returns to
London.
The Duke of
Gloucester's
Letter
to the
Queen.

1483.

“ self an Example of unlimited Submission. That he
“ did not question but she would likewise do her best
“ that all the King’s Subjects, of what Order or De-
“ gree soever, might enjoy the Peace and Quiet they
“ had reason to expect. That in order to that he
“ took the Freedom to advise her to exert her utmost
“ to dispel the old Animosities among the Great Men,
“ and confirm by her Prudence the Reconciliation
“ lately made before the King her Husband’s Death.
“ That his Advice was, that without Affection or Pre-
“ judice, Care should be taken to reward Merit where-
“ ever it should be found, to the End no Man might
“ justly complain of having been neglected purely on
“ the Score of Party. That this was the principal
“ Point to be aimed at, least by acting otherwise Di-
“ visions should arise again, which ought to be buried
“ in eternal Oblivion. That therefore he could not
“ forbear telling her, that having been informed that
“ the Earl of *Rivers* was drawing some Forces toge-
“ ther to conduct the King to *London*, he was surprised
“ at it, considering there did not seem to be the least
“ Occasion for them. That he was really convinced
“ that her Intention was good ; nevertheless it was to
“ be feared that People would put another Construc-
“ tion upon that Proceeding. That the raising of
“ Troops upon the slight Pretence of providing for
“ the King’s Safety, at a Time when no Body appear-
“ ed to give him any Disturbance, could not but cause
“ Suspicions in the opposite Party lately reconciled.
“ That the Precautions several Lords would take
“ without doubt, to screen themselves from the Mis-
“ chiefs they would have reason to dread, were the
“ natural and infallible Fruits of these Suspicions. That
“ therefore to avoid a Danger which had no Founda-
“ tion, and by a needless Precaution, the Peace of the
“ whole Kingdom would lye at Stake. That when
“ once these Suspicions should take root, and two
“ Armies should be on foot in the Kingdom, God a-
“ lone knew what might be the Issue. That for these
“ Reasons, of which doubtless she plainly perceived
“ the

“ the Strength, he advised her to cause her Troops to
 “ be disbanded, that all the Nobles of the Realm
 “ might come, without Fear and Suspicion, to pay
 “ their Respects to their young Sovereign, and con-
 “ tribute every one according to his Power, to the
 “ Preservation of Peace and Union in the *State*.

The Queen was so imprudent as to follow this Advice, not perceiving the Poison that lurked under it. She thought she should the rather comply with it, as it came from a Brother-in-law, who had always been firm to the Interests of the late King, and still showed himself very zealous for her and her Children. During *Edward IV's* Life, the Duke of *Gloucester* had all along constantly paid his Respects to the Queen, so that she had no reason to suspect him. Besides, there was not in his Letter one Syllable that might induce her to think he intended to dispute the Government with her. In fine, she considered that the Duke could not aspire to the Crown without supplanting two Nephews and five Nieces, who were not in his Power. This alone would have been enough to remove her Suspicions, supposing she could have entertained any against them. And therefore, believing herself sufficiently backed, since the Duke of *Gloucester* showed himself so fast a Friend to her Interests, she wrote to the Earl of *Rivers* her Brother, that she thought proper he should dismiss his Troops for fear of raising Jealousies without Occasion. The Earl obeyed her Orders without delay, and keeping none but the King's Domesticks, he began his Journey to *London*.

The Queen falls into the Snare.

Rivers carries the King to London without a Guard.

The young King being come near *Northampton*, the Dukes of *Gloucester* and *Buckingham*, who had brought into the Town Nine Hundred armed Men, went out to meet him, and saluted him with a great deal of Respect. In discoursing with the Earl of *Rivers*, they gave him to understand that the Town of *Northampton* was so full of Strangers, and so ill-provided with Provisions and other Conveniencies, that it would be very incommodious for theirs and the King's Retinue to lodge in that Place. Then they advised him to carry the King

The Duke of Gloucester and his Friends go and meet the King.

1483.

*They per-
suade Ri-
vers to go
with them
to North-
ampton.*

*They care-
less
him very
much;*

*and after-
wards ar-
rest him;*

to *Stony-Stratford*, which is but Twelve Miles further in the Road to *London*. They added, that for their Part they would go back to *Northampton*, and come and wait upon the King next Morning before he sat out. Upon parting, one of them proposed to the Earl in a free and easy Manner, as if the Thought had just then came into his Head, to go and divert himself with them that Night at *Northampton*, whilst the King rested at *Stony-Stratford*. The Earl not suspecting their Design, complied with this kind Invitation. He was even glad to have an Opportunity to cement their mutual Reconciliation, by this Proof of Trust and Confidence.

The three Lords being come to *Northampton*, spent part of the Night at Supper in perfect Harmony, making one another Protestations of Friendship and Offers of Service. Bed-time being come, the Earl of *Rivers* withdrew to his Lodging. But the other two passed the rest of the Night in consulting what was to be done, since the Earl of *Rivers* had indiscretely put himself in their Power. Their Consultation being ended, they caused the Keys of the Inn where they lodged to be brought to them, under Colour that they would be the first that should go to the King in the Morning. For the greater Precaution, they had ordered a good Number of their Men to go out of the Town and secure the Way to *Stony-Stratford* from all Passengers whatever. At break of Day they were ready to mount their Horses, whilst the Earl of *Rivers* was still in Bed. Mean time, one of his People having waked him, and told him that the Dukes of *Gloucester* and *Buckingham* were ready to go, and that no body was suffered to go out of the Inn; he immediately put on his Cloaths in order to go and know the Reason of this Proceeding. But he found them in a Temper very different from that he had left them in some Hours before. Upon his Approach they began to quarrel with him, taxing him with having alienated the King's Affection from his most faithful Subjects, adding, that they knew how to prevent the like Practice for the future. The Earl was going to return a soft Answer to this Accusation, but refusing to

to hear him, they left him in Custody with some of their People, and mounting on Horseback rid away to the King.

1483.

They found the young Prince ready to set out, and having paid their Respects to him, they re-mounted their Horses in order to attend him. Before they were out of the Town, they picked a Quarrel with the Lord Gray, Half-Brother to the King, and charged him, that jointly with the Marquis of *Dorset* his Brother, and the Earl of *Rivers* his Uncle, he had formed the Project to get the King's Person into their Hands: And that the Marquis of *Dorset* had taken out of the *Tower* the Treasure which the late King had committed to his Custody. To which the King made answer, that for what concerned the Marquis of *Dorset* he could say nothing, but that he would answer for the Conduct of the Earl of *Rivers* and the Lord Grey, since they had always been in his Company without ever leaving him. To this the Duke of *Buckingham* replied, that they had taken care to conceal their Plots from his Highness, but that they were no less certain for all that. At the same time he ordered his People to arrest the Lord Grey, with Sir *Thomas Vaughan* and Sir *Richard Hawse*, and instead of going on towards *London*, he carried the King back to *Northampton*. The same or the next Day the two Lords and the Knights Prisoners were conducted to *Pontfract* Castle, the Governour whereof was a Creature of the Duke of *Gloucester's*. The King appeared very much concerned for the Disgrace of his Brother and Uncle, as well as for the Violence done to his own Person. But he had no means to get out of the Hands of his new Governours, but his Tears which trickled down his Checks, and which were little regarded. Mean while, they omitted not to pay him outwardly all the Reverence usually paid to a Sovereign, in order to blind the Eyes of the People by this show of Respect and Submission.

and likewise
the Lord
Grey and
2 Knights.

They send
them to
Pontfract.

They seize
upon the
King.

The News of these Things being brought to the Queen, she perceived her Error in trusting to the Duke of *Gloucester*, and suspected immediately that he would

The Queen
takes Sanc-
tuary in
Westmil-

not

1483.
Her with
her Chil-
dren.

not stop there, but that he had formed Designs still more destructive to the royal Family. So that finding herself deprived of the Assistance of her Brother and Sons as well as of their Counsels, she had no other remedy left, but with the Duke of *York* her Son and the rest of her Family to take Sanctuary in *Westminster*.

The Arch-
bishop of
York gives
her Marks
of his Fide-
lity.

The Lord *Hastings* who was then at *London* hated the Queen, as was observed, but he loved the King and all *Edward IV's* Family. It is true, he was engaged in *Gloucester's* and *Buckingham's* Plot, but it was because he believed it tended only to hinder the Queen from holding the Reins of the Government, the which he thought just and reasonable. He had Intelligence in the Night of what had passed at *Northampton*, and instantly sent the News to the Archbishop of *York* who was High-Chancellor, assuring him withal that he had no reason to be alarmed; that the King's Person was in no danger, and that very shortly what had happened would turn to the Welfare of the Kingdom. The Archbishop getting out of Bed that Moment, went to the Queen, and carried the *Great Seal* along with him. He found her in a disconsolate Condition sitting upon the Ground, lamenting her own and her Children's Fate, whilst her Domesticks were busy in carrying in such Goods as were necessary into the *Sanctuary*. He used his utmost Endeavour to comfort her, telling her what the Lord *Hastings* had acquainted him with. But he found her very backward to believe that any good could come from such an Enemy. Then the Prelate desirous to give her some Hopes, told her, that the King's Person was safe, since the Duke of *York* his Brother was not in the Power of those whom she looked upon as her Enemies. He added, that if they should be so audacious as to put the King to Death, or give the Crown to another, he assured her he would immediately crown the Duke of *York*. In fine, to give her all possible Assurances of his Fidelity, he left the *Great Seal* with her. But reflecting afterwards upon his Error in delivering up so precious a Pledge which the late King had intrusted him with, he sent for it again as soon as he came home.

In

In the mean while the whole City of *London* was in Commotion. Several of the Citizens had even taken up Arms, not knowing what the End might be of the News they had just received, which, in all appearance was very much aggravated. The Lord *Hastings* being sensible that an Insurrection at *London* might break the Measures of his Friends at *Northampton*, instantly came into the City, and as his Credit was great among the Citizens, he assured them *that* the King was in no danger: *That* indeed the Earl of *Rivers*, the Lord *Grey*, and some others, were arrested for having conspired against the Duke of *Gloucester* and the Duke of *Buckingham*, but that they would be brought to a legal Trial: *That* as for the rest, they had no reason to take up Arms upon that score, and it was to be feared that they would be called to an account for the Tumult, if they did not lay them down as readily as they had taken them up. The Citizens knowing that the Lord *Hastings* might have perfect Information of Matters, by reason he was of the Duke of *Buckingham's* Party, retired to their Houses, not being willing to concern themselves with the Quarrels of the great Men.

1483.
Tumult at
London
appeased by
Hastings.

Shortly after, the Dukes of *Gloucester* and *Buckingham* conducted the King to *London*, paying him all the Respect due to his Dignity. As they travelled along, they caused a Report to be spread, that the Earl of *Rivers* and the rest of the Prisoners at *Pontfract* had determined to kill them; and their Servants showed the People Barrels full of Arms, which they said were found among the Baggage of the Conspirators. The News of the extraordinary Respect with which the King was treated having flown to *London* before their Arrival, the City grew the more quiet, because they had reason to believe that there had been an Attempt made upon the King's Life or his Dignity. Upon his Approach the People went out in Crowds to receive him, and the young King entered the City, attended by a great Number of Lords, and particularly by the Duke of *Gloucester*, who followed him bare-headed. He was lodged in the Bishop's

The King is
brought to
London.

1483. Bishop's Palace, to let the Citizens see the great Confidence that was placed in them, and to show that nothing was consulted but his Safety. This Management entirely removed the Suspicions which the *Northampton* Affair had raised in the Minds of the People against the Duke of *Gloucester*.

The Duke of Gloucester calls a great Council.

The Rejoicings for the King's safe Arrival being over, it was necessary to think of settling the Government during his Minority, which was to last seven Years. The most natural way would have been to call a Parliament. That was the Method which was taken upon the Death of *Henry V.* But as during the Session of the Parliament all other Authority would have ceased, till the Government was regulated, the Duke of *Gloucester* did not think fit to part with that he had acquired by having the King's Person in his Power. Indeed he might have expected that the Parliament would have conferred upon him the Dignity of *Protector of the Realm*, since he was the only Prince of the Blood capable of holding the Reins of the Government. But at the same time they would not have failed to intrust some others with the Care of the young King's Person and Education. It is a constant and very just Rule not to commit a *Minor* King to the Hands of those that may be Gainers by his Ruin. But this was what the Duke of *Gloucester* feared of all things. He was resolved to continue Master of the King's Person, otherwise it would have been a very difficult Matter for him to accomplish his Designs. These Considerations made him think that it was more agreeable to his Interests to call a great Council, and not to summon a Parliament till he had made sure of the Crown. This Council being, for the most Part, made up of the antient Nobility and the Duke of *Gloucester's* Friends, declares that Prince *Protector of the King and Kingdom*, usurping a Privilege which belonged only to the Parliament. But as I have observed more than once, it is easier to get the Parliament to confirm what is done, than to bring them to do what one desires.

He is declared Protector.

The seizing the King's Person, and the getting himself declared *Protector* were the two first Steps by which the Duke of *Gloucester* intended to mount the Throne. Each had its fair and foul Side. In the first Place, after the Death of *Edward IV*, the Queen and her Relations having no manner of Right to take upon them the Government of the Realm, no body could think it strange that the Duke of *Gloucester* should assume near the King the Rank which his Birth entitled him to. But the Fraud and Violence he had practised against the Queen's Relations, gave ground to suspect that he had formed deeper Designs. In the next Place, nothing was more natural than to see the King's Uncle Protector of the Realm. But at the same time, his affecting to obtain that Dignity without vouchsafing to call a Parliament, and his causing to be annexed to the Office of *Protector of the Realm*, that of *Protector of the King*, which should have been separated from it, was an extraordinary Step which might justly raise Suspicion. And yet the Consequence was not perceived till it was too late to prevent it. But for fear these irregular Proceedings might open Peoples Eyes, the Duke took care to conceal himself under the Mask of an extraordinary Zeal for the Interests of the King his Nephew, and of a great Respect for his Person.

1483.
Doubtful
Behaviour
of the Pro-
tector.

As soon as the Duke was declared *Protector*, he took the *Great Seal* from the Archbishop of *York*, who had given him a very plausible Pretence, and delivered it to the Bishop of *Lincoln*. The Duke of *Buckingham* and the Lord *Hastings* were confirmed in their Places; but there were great Alterations in all the rest of the Posts, the new Protector putting in his own Creatures in the room of the Queen's, who filled them before. Though the Lord *Hastings* was not in his Secrets as to what concerned the principal Design, he did not despair of winning him when Matters were in great Forwardness. Besides, *Hastings* was a mortal Enemy to the Queen and her Family, and had a great Interest in the *Londoners*. This was sufficient at that Time, since, without knowing it, he could be serviceable to the

Alterations
as Courts.

Reason for
retaining
the Lord
Hastings.

1483. Protector in executing his Projects, which it was not yet proper to discover.

The Protector moves in Council to take the Duke of York from the Queen.

To be able to proceed with any Prospect of Success in his Design, it was absolutely necessary for the Duke of Gloucester to get the young Duke of York into his Hands, as well as the King his Brother. To dethrone the King or send him out of the World, would have been to no Purpose, as long as the Duke of York was out of Reach. He would still have had the same Game to play over again. In order therefore to compass his Ends, he moved in Council, whether it would not be requisite to get the Duke of York out of the Hands of the Queen, that he might bear the King his Brother Company. He made upon that Occasion a pretty long Speech, wherein, having first testified an extraordinary Zeal for the Royal Family, and confirmed what he said with a great Oath, he set forth the Reasons which required that the young Prince should be removed from the Queen. The first was, “ That the Queen’s
 “ flying to *Sanctuary* could not but be construed as
 “ an Affront to the Government, since it did not ap-
 “ pear that she had any just Cause to fear either upon
 “ her own or her Family’s Account. In the second
 “ Place, that her Drift could only be to stir up the
 “ People, by making them believe the King was in
 “ Danger, since no other Consequence could be inferred
 “ from her Conduct. That therefore it was necessary
 “ to undeceive the People by getting the Duke of
 “ York, and causing him to be educated according to
 “ his Quality. That the more visible the Queen’s
 “ Malice was, the more one should endeavour to pre-
 “ vent its Effects. That it was manifest she was striv-
 “ ing to form in the Kingdom a Party capable of set-
 “ ting her at the Head of Affairs, as she had been in the
 “ late Reign. That it was with great Difficulty and
 “ by very good Luck that they were freed from the
 “ imperious Rule of that Princess and her Family ;
 “ but in Case the King should happen to dye, they
 “ would be plunged again into the same wretched Con-
 “ dition, since she had the lawful Heir in her Power.

“ On

“ On the other Hand, it was necessary to consider
 “ what Foreigners would be apt to think when they
 “ should hear, that at the very Time when one of *Ed-*
 “ *ward the Fourth's* Sons were crowned, the other
 “ thought himself obliged to keep in a *Sanctuary*.
 “ That it would be dishonourable to the Government,
 “ to suffer themselves to be thus braved by a Woman
 “ who had attempted to cause the King's *Council* to
 “ be looked upon as Enemies to the Royal Family.
 “ That besides, the King being young and wanting
 “ some Diversion, he could not have a more agreeable
 “ Companion than his own Brother, and that there
 “ was no Reason to keep them asunder. In fine, he
 “ added, that it would be indecent to proceed to the
 “ Coronation in the Absence of the Duke of *York*
 “ who was the second Person in the *State*, and having
 “ an evident Right to be present, could not be debarred
 “ of it without Injustice. Upon all these Accounts
 “ he concluded that Deputies should be sent to the
 “ Queen, to desire her to deliver up the Duke of *York*
 “ to the King his Brother. He added, that, in his O-
 “ pinion, the *Cardinal* Archbishop of *Canterbury* was
 “ the properest Person for this Deputation. That if
 “ in spite of all the Arguments the Archbishop should
 “ alledge, she should be obstinately bent to keep the
 “ young Prince with her, and persist in her ill-
 “ grounded Suspicions, he saw no Reason why the
 “ *Council* should not take him away by Force. That
 “ this was his Opinion, and he desired every Member
 “ of the *Council* to speak his own with Freedom.

The *Cardinal* readily took upon him to go and ac-
 quaint the Queen with the Council's Pleasure ; but he
 by no means approved of the Motion of violating the
 Privilege of *Sanctuary*. He said, that the Church of
Westminster was consecrated five Hundred Years ago
 by St. *Peter* himself, who descended from Heaven at-
 tended by Multitudes of Angels. That ever since that
 Time no King of *England* had dared to violate that
Sanctuary, and that such an Attempt would certainly
 draw

The Arch-
 bishop of
 Canterbu-
 ry is sent
 to the
 Queen.
 He is a-
 gainst vio-
 lating the
 Sanctuary.

1483. draw down the just Vengeance of God upon the whole Kingdom.

Buckingham's Reasons for it.

The Duke of *Buckingham* replied with a great deal of Warmth to this Part of the *Cardinal's* Speech. He made appear that *Sanctuaries* were intended only to protect such as had reason to fear Oppression and Violence, and not to countenance frivolous and malicious Suspicions, detrimental to the King and Kingdom. After abundance of bitter Reflections against the Queen, he discoursed largely of the Abuse of *Sanctuaries*, particularly as they helped those that fled thither to make their Escapes. He added, that although the Duke of *York* was neither Guilty nor Oppressed, yet there was room to fear that the Queen his Mother would carry him out of the Kingdom, the which might one Day afford the Queen an Opportunity to invade *England*, by the help of some foreign Prince, upon some shallow Pretences which would never be wanting. In fine, having alledged sundry other Reasons, he agreed with the Protector to take the Duke of *York* by Force from his *Sanctuary*, in Case the Queen refused to give him up freely. This Matter being put to the Debate, the Opinion of the Protector and the Duke of *Buckingham* prevailed, notwithstanding the Opposition of most of the *Ecclesiasticks* there present.

Conference between the Queen and the Archbishop

The *Cardinal* being come to the Queen, used all the Arguments possible to induce her to comply, and to perswade her that neither the King, nor she, nor the Duke of *York* had any Thing to fear. He spoke with the greater Assurance, as he was satisfied of the Truth of what he said, having never suspected the Duke of *Gloucester* of any ill Designs. For as to the Violence used towards the Queen's Relations, he considered it not as any great hurt. Besides that he was ignorant whether they were altogether Innocent, he did not think it any great Injustice to detain them some Time in Prison, in order to hinder them from disturbing the Kingdom by their immoderate Ambition. But all his Eloquence was not capable to perswade the Queen, who plainly saw in the Duke of *Gloucester's* Management

ment too much reason to strengthen her Fears. At last the *Cardinal* perceiving that his Arguments were fruitless, told her, that the Council, apprehensive of her carrying the Prince her Son out of the Kingdom, had determined to take him by Force out of his *Sanctuary*, if she was obstinately bent to keep him there. The Queen hearing this Resolve, talked much of the Privileges of *Sanctuaries*, the which was not much to her Purpose, since she spoke to one who was of the same Mind : At length seeing herself pressed to obey the *Council's* Order, she freely declared to the *Cardinal* the real Cause of her Fears. She told him, she could not help suspecting the Duke of *Gloucester* of having Designs destructive to the Royal Family, which he could not accomplish without he had both the Brothers in his Power, and that the only means to preserve the King, was to keep the Duke of *York* out of their Uncle's Reach. The *Cardinal* growing warm at hearing her talk thus, replied, that since she was obstinately bent to terrify herself with vain and groundless Suspicions, he would say no more upon that Head. That being only Deputy from the Council, and the Business nothing to him in particular, he would press her no farther, least he should give her occasion to think that he himself was concerned in the Plot she was apprehensive of. That however he saw with Grief the Ill-Opinion she had of the Members of the Council. That she must needs take them to be either void of Understanding, not to perceive what she fancied she saw so plainly, or else wicked enough to lend a helping Hand to the Duke of *Gloucester*. That for his Part, he believed he could confidently affirm, that such a Thought had never entered into the Duke's Head, and that the Council would be very sorry to see themselves taxed with Treachery or extreme Imprudence. The good *Cardinal*, in trying to remove the Queen's Fears, said nothing but what he really thought, because he was not in the Protector's Secrets. Therefore the Queen felt herself very much staggered by the Assurances given her by a Person of his Character. It was apparent, that

1483.

*The Queen
delivers up
the Duke of
York.*

*The Pro-
tector lodg-
es the King
and his Bro-
ther in the
Tower.*

*He imparts
his Designs
to the Duke
of Buck-
ingham,*

that in Case the Council had intended to circumvent her, they would not have made him their Instrument : Nevertheless she could not lay aside her Fears. Mean while she saw the *Cardinal* ready to go back, and that she was upon the Point of being exposed to the Violence of her Enemies, and obliged to do by Force, what was demanded of her in a civil Manner. So resolving on a sudden to give up the young Prince, she caught him in her Arms, tenderly took her leave of him, and with a Shower of Tears delivered him to the *Cardinal*, who brought him to the Protector. As soon as he saw his young Nephew, he ran to him with open Arms; to embrace him and give him Marks of a feigned Affection, telling him he would always be a Father to him. Then he carried him to the King, who without knowing how he came there, was overjoyed to have him with him. A few Days after the Protector found some Excuse to convey them both to the *Tower*, whereas before they lodged in the Heart of the City at the Bishop's Palace.

It is generally believed, that hitherto the Duke of *Gloucester* had not communicated his most secret Thoughts to the Duke of *Buckingham*, and that he did not impart them to him till after he had the two Princes in his Power. *Buckingham* hated the Queen and her Family mortally, because it was through their means that the late King had refused to put him in Possession of certain Lands in *Herefordshire*, to which he laid Claim. His Hatred had even passed to the King's Person, though he had not dared to show it. He had joined with the Duke of *Gloucester* with Design to deprive the Queen and her Relations of the Government of the Realm, during the King's *Minority* ; but it is not believed that his Thoughts had gone any further. And indeed as he wanted only to preserve or increase his Credit, it seems that a *Minority* was more for his Purpose than the Government of a grown King, such as the Duke of *Gloucester*. But however, as he was a Man of ill Principles, it was no very hard Matter for the Protector to engage him in his Plot, by the Prospect

Prospect of a Reward. It is said that he promised him not only to help him to the Lands he wanted, but also to give him part of the late King's *Wardrobe* wherewith to furnish his House in a stately manner, and to secure to his Heirs the Office of *High-Constable*, which he was in Possession of. Be that as it will, the Duke of *Buckingham* engaged so heartily in the Project to set the Protector on the Throne, that from thenceforward he appeared no less eager than the Protector himself to bring it about. The Thing being resolved, the question was only how to put it in Execution.

1483.
who comes
in to them.

From that Time the Conferences between the Duke of *Gloucester* and his trusty Friends became more frequent than before. They debated the main Difficulties that might occur in the way of their Design, and how to surmount or prevent them. In fine, they came to the following Resolutions, which were considered as the Plan they were gradually to proceed upon. First, As they were in all likelihood to expect the strongest Opposition from the Queen, it was resolved to dispatch the Prisoners at *Pontfract*, in order to bereave the Royal Family of their chiefest Support. The Lord *Hastings*, to whom their Design was imparted, readily consented to it, though he knew not the Motive that induced the Protector to put these Lords to Death. 2. It was agreed that they should endeavour to engage in the Plot the properest Persons to carry it on, that is to say in other Words, Villians capable of doing any Thing, without any manner of Regard to Honour, Justice, or Conscience. 3. It was judged necessary to find out some Foundation to support the Duke of *Gloucester's* Pretensions, that the People might be amused with some Appearance of Reason. 4. As it was no less requisite to keep the Plot secret till Matters were ripe for Execution, it was resolved that they should make show in publick of a settled Design to cause the King to be crowned, till it was no longer necessary to dissemble. 5. Lastly, It was agreed, that the Lord *Hastings* should either be won or dispatched out of the way. One of the two seemed absolutely necessary, considering

Result of
their Pro-
jects.

1483. ing the great Interest that Lord had with the People of London.

Orders to
behead the
Prisoners at
Pontfract.

This Plan being laid, the Protector wrote to Sir *Richard Ratcliff* Governour of *Pontfract* and his Creature, to cause the four Lords that were under his Custody to be beheaded upon such a Day.

The Pro-
tector gains
Shaw and
Catesby.

After that, he set himself particularly to win Sir *Edmund Shaw* then Mayor of *London*, and succeeded to his Wish. The Mayor ingaged in the Plot his Brother *John Shaw* a famous Preacher, and one *Pinker Monk* and *Provincial* of the *Augustine Fryars*, who were much esteemed by the People. To these the Protector joined one *Catesby*, a particular Friend and Confident of the Lord *Hastings*.

A Report
is spread
against the
Legitimacy
of Edward
IV and V's
Children.

By the help of these Men it was that the Protector's Privy-Council resolved to cause the Reasons which might strengthen his Claim to be spread among the People. This seemed to be a pretty difficult Thing, seeing there were three Princes and six Princess's before him, namely, the King, the Duke of *York* his Brother, *Edward the Fourth's* five Daughters, the Earl of *Warwick* Son to the late Duke of *Clarence*, and *Margaret* his Sister. One single Expedient seemed proper and sufficient to destroy the Right and Title of these Princes and Princesses ; and that was, to give out that *Edward IV's* Children were all *Bastards*, and that *Edward* himself and the Duke of *Clarence* his Brother were not Sons of the late Duke of *York*. To exclude *Edward's* Children it was resolved to assert the Validity of his pretended Marriage-Contract with *Elizabeth Lucy* before he espoused *Elizabeth Woodvile*, from whence it would be inferred, that the Children by the last Marriage were Illegitimate. They thought they should be able to make good their Assertion by the Testimony of the Dutchess of *York*, who had used that Argument to hinder the King her Son from marrying Sir *Richard Woodvile's* Daughter. *Philip de Comines* says, that all that Time the Bishop of *Bath and Wells* affirmed that he had married *Edward IV* to a Lady called *Eleanor Talbot*, before he had espoused the Queen ; that it was done

Remark
upon a Fact
advanced
by Co-
mines.

1482.

done privately without any Witness, and that the King strictly charged him never to say a Word of it to any Person whatever. But we don't find in the *English* Historians, that the Duke of *Gloucester* at the time we are speaking of, made use of that Reason, which however would have been more plausible than that taken from *Edward's* Marriage with *Elizabeth Lucy*. For *Edward* had taken some care with regard to this last, as we have seen in the History of his Reign, whereas nothing could be said against the other, being supported by the Evidence of the very Bishop that pretended to marry them. It is very unlikely that the Duke of *Gloucester* should neglect so great an Advantage. But it may very easily be that *Philip de Comines* was wrong informed, or at least mistaken in the Name of the King's Mistress.

Mean while, as it was a hard Matter to prove *Edward's* IV's pretended Marriage with *Elizabeth Lucy*, and as on the contrary the Bishops had declared that there was no mutual Contract, the Protector's Council judged it proper chiefly to insist upon the other Point, namely, that *Edward* IV. and the Duke of *Clarence* were not Sons of the late Duke of *York*. By that they excluded at once the Heirs of these two Princes, and then the Duke of *Gloucester* was the next in order. To support this Assertion, they resolved to plead the Duke of *Clarence's* own Testimony, who, as was pretended, had maintained that *Edward* IV. was Illegitimate. They had moreover suborned some of the late Duke of *York's* Domesticks, who took care to spread divers Reports which confirmed what they intended to let the People know. These People gave out that the Dutchess of *York* had taken to her Bed certain Persons whom *Edward* IV. and the Duke of *Clarence* were extremely like, and that the Duke of *Gloucester* was the only one that was Son to the Duke of *York*.

*The Protectors Emis-
saries spread
Reports a-
gainst Ed-
ward IV.*

As to the Earl of *Warwick* and his Sister, they had another way to exclude them, the Attainder of the Duke of *Clarence* their Father, which, as they pretended, rendered them incapable of inheriting at all. Thus the Duke of *Gloucester* made no scruple to cause her that had

*Pretence to
exclude the
Duke of
Clarence's
Heirs.*

1483. brought him into the World to be accused of Adultery. But this was one of the least Crimes which cleared his way to the Throne, so much was he blinded by his Ambition.

Two Councils erected.

Every thing being thus prepared, the Protector made as if he would hasten the King's Coronation. To that Purpose he erected a new Council, which was to meet every Day, and regulate the Matters belonging to that Solemnity. He took care that this Council should consist of such Lords as were most addicted to *Edward IV's* Family, among whom the two Archbishops, the Bishop of *Ely*, the Lord *Hastings*, and the Lord *Stanley* were the principal. At the same time, he had another Council made up of his Creatures, which also met regularly, but whose Consultations ran solely upon the Means how to put off the Coronation, and bring the Protector to the Throne.

The Lords appointed to hasten the Preparations for the Coronation, quickly perceived that all their Orders were retarded by Obstacles which came from another Place. They were somewhat surprized besides, that the Protector hardly ever suffered the King to be seen; that the young Prince had but very few Attendants, whilst the Protector's House swarmed with unnecessary People, and with a Crowd of Courtiers, who were always well received and caressed. These things joined to the affected Delays of the Coronation, began to breed Suspicion in those that were really Friends to the King's Person. The Lord *Stanley*, a Man of a deep Penetration, was the first to disclose his Fears that the Protector had ill Designs. He freely declared his Mind to his Fellow-Counsellors, and gave them to understand that he did not like the Duke of *Gloucester's* Proceedings: That the other Council which met so often, and whose Resolves could not be dived into, was to him very suspicious. That therefore it was his Opinion they should think betimes of the Means to prevent the Mischiefs which might ensue. This Advice was prudent; but the Lord *Hastings*, even prepossessed that the Protector had no other Thoughts but to humble the Queen's Party,

The Lord Stanley's Suspicions of the Protector,

removed by the vain Confidence of Hastings;

Party, removed all these Suspicions. He affirmed, they had nothing to fear from the other Council, and that he would pawn his Life that in case any thing should be transacted there detrimental to the King and Kingdom, he should be instantly informed of it by one of the Members who was entirely devoted to him. He meant *Catesby* his Friend and Confident. But he did not know that *Catesby* betrayed him, and that it was upon that Score that he was let into the Duke of *Gloucester's* Secrets. So *Stanley* and the other Lords of the same Party chusing rather to trust to the Lord *Hastings's* Word than to their own Judgment, took no Measures to stop the Protector's Proceedings, which they might easily have done had they sat about it in time.

who is be-
trayed by
Catesby.

In the mean while the Duke of *Gloucester* knowing what a fast Friend the Lord *Hastings* was to the King, thought it was time to execute the Project he had formed upon his Account, that is to say, to engage him in the Plot or destroy him. To this End he ordered *Catesby* to sound him, but with all the Caution imaginable, for fear of discovering the Design before they had made sure of him. *Catesby* having put the Lord *Hastings* upon discoursing about State Affairs, said to him, that People talked very much of the Duke of *Gloucester's* Title to the Crown before *Edward's* IV's Children, and that many were persuaded his Title was not without Foundation. That it was pretty openly said, it were to be wished that the Reasons alledged in his Favour were good, since it would be more beneficial to the Nation to be governed by a Man than by a Child. That for his Part, he had not yet examined the Matter, and he should be glad first to know his Opinion about it. *Hastings* not suspecting his Friend in the least, told him his whole Mind, and imparted to him the Suspicions which the Lord *Stanley* began to entertain against the Duke of *Gloucester*. He added, that for his own Part he scrupled not to wish rather the Ruin and Destruction of the Protector and the Duke of *Buckingham* than to see the late King's Children deprived of their Right. That in case he perceived that there was any Plot

Protector
sounds
Hastings,
and sends
him to the
King.

1483.

brewing in favour of the Duke of *Gloucester*, he would hazard his Credit, his Estate, and his very Life, to prevent is from succeeding. This Reply was immediately carried to the Protector by perfidious *Catesby*, who even aggravated it on purpose to hasten the Lord *Hastings*'s Destruction, for fear he should one Day come to know his Treachery.

*Hastings's
Death re-
solved.*

The Duke having thus sounded the Lord *Hastings*, was somewhat at a stand. He wanted of all things to win that Lord to his Side, knowing how serviceable he could be to him. But for that very reason he could not help fearing him, if he persisted in resolving to adhere to the King. To free himself from this Uneasiness, he got him to be sounded once more by *Catesby*. *Catesby* having spoke a little too plainly in his second Conversation with *Hastings*, and not doubting but his Treachery was found out, gave the Protector to understand, that not only there was no hopes of winning *Hastings*, but that moreover he was to expect to find in him a professed Enemy. Whereupon the Protector resolved to dispatch him out of the way, looking upon him now as his real Foe.

*Means to
bring it
about.*

Having taken this Resolution, he called a Council in the *Tower* under colour of finishing the Matters belonging to the King's Coronation. He came thither himself at Nine a-Clock in the Morning with a chearful Countenance, civilly saluting all the Lords in a free and easy Manner, as if he had nothing in his Head that gave him the least Uneasiness. After that he went out, and desired the *Board* to go on with their Debates in his Absence.

About an Hour after he returned with his Countenance quite altered, knitting his Brows, biting his Lips, and showing all the Signs possible of the inward Perturbation of his Mind. Having for a while kept Silence, he at length broke out into these Words: *My Lords, what Punishment do they deserve who have plotted against my Life?* Every body refraining some time from making any Answer, the Lord *Hastings* replied, *Whoever was guilty of such a Crime ought to be punished as a Traitor. It*
is,

answered the Duke, *that Sorcerers of a Sister-in-law with her Accomplices.* At which Words many of the Council who were Friends to the Queen were like Men Thunder-struck, being afraid that this Accusation would fall on their Heads. But the Lord *Hastings* was far enough from having any such Fears. All the World knew he was a sworn Enemy to the Queen, and consequently there was no likelihood of his having joined with her in any such Design. Besides, he had lately approved of the Order sent to *Pontfraet*, to behead the Lords Prisoners, who were to be executed that very Day. After a short Pause, the Protector having stript his left Arm bare, showed it to the Council almost dried and withered, saying with extreme Emotion, *See what that Sorcerers and that Wretch Shore's Wife have done by their Witchcrafts. They have reduced my Arm to the Condition you see it in, and it would soon have been the same with all the rest of my Body, if by God's Mercy their infamous Plot had not been discovered.* These Words caused a greater Surprize than the former, there being not a Soul in the Council but what knew very well that the Duke's Arm had been a long time in that Condition. Besides, if the Queen had framed such a Project, *Jane Shore* would have been the last Person she would have imparted it to, since she hated no body so much as her. The Lord *Hastings*, who kept *Jane Shore* after *Edward's* Death, perceiving that she was involved in the Accusation, could not forbear to show how much he questioned her being guilty, by saying, *If they had committed such a Crime they deserved to be punished.* Then the Protector raising his Voice, *What, says he, dost thou answer me with Ifs and Ands, as if I my self had forged this Accusation? I tell thee they have conspired my Death, and that thou thy self art accessory to their Crime.* As he ended these Words, he struck the Table twice with his Hand, and immediately the Room was filled with armed Men. As soon as they were in, the Protector turning to the Lord *Hastings*, said to him, *I arrest thee for High-Treason. Who, Me, my Lord, answered Hastings? Yes, Thee,*

1483. *Thee, Traitor*, replied the Protector. At the same time he delivered him to the Custody of the Soldiers. During the Bustle, one of the Soldiers would have cleft the Lord *Stanley's* Skull with a Battle-Ax. But he avoided part of the Blow by shrinking under the Table, which however did not hinder but that he was dangerously wounded. Apparently, the Fellow had Orders to kill him as it were by Chance under pretence of assisting the Lord *Hastings*. It is not hard to guess why the Protector had a mind to get rid of him. Be that as it will, having missed his Aim, *Stanley* was arrested with the Archbishop of *York* and Bishop of *Ely*, it being the Protector's Business to put it out of the Power of those to hurt him, whom he knew to be zealously affected to the young King. As for the Lord *Hastings*, hardly would he give him time to make a short Confession to the next Priest that was at hand, swearing *that he would not dine till he had seen his Head taken off*. Accordingly, he was beheaded upon a Log which was found on the Green before the *Tower-Chapel*, the Time the Protector had set being too short to erect a Scaffold. Historians give us a large Account of sundry Presages which he had of his Death. But although such kind of Remarks may have their use, when the Facts are very certain, I shall however pass them over in Silence *. It will suffice to observe only, that the Lord *Hastings* died the same Day and Hour that the *Pontfract* Prisoners were executed, in whose Death he had no little share.

Stanley is wounded, and arrested with the Archbishop of York and the Bishop of Ely.

The Prisoners at Pontfract are executed.

The Protector tries to justify what was done to the Mayor of London.

The Lord *Hastings* being dead, the Protector judged it necessary to colour an Execution so hasty and so contrary to the Laws of the Realm, for fear the *Londoners* should take Fire upon hearing of it. With this View it was that he sent to the *Mayor* and *Aldermen*. In the mean

* The Presages Historians dwell upon were a remarkable Dream of the Lord *Stanley's*, who advised him to fly from danger, the Solicitations of his Concubine *Jane Shore*, that very Morning not to go to the Council, nor to trust the wild Boar, the often stumbling of his Horse as he was riding to the *Tower*, and some other such like Observations. He was afterwards buried at *Windsor* near King *Edward's* Tomb.

mean while he and the Duke of *Buckingham* put on two old rusty Coats of Armour. The *Mayor* being come to the *Tower*, the Protector told him, that the Lord *Hastings* and some others had conspired to take away his Life, and that he had no Intelligence of their Plot till ten a Clock that Morning. That the Fact having been fully proved, the King and Council had thought necessary to have them executed immediately, by reason they were informed that a great Number of People were all ready to rise in his Favour. That as to the rest, this Conspiracy had put his Person in extreme Danger, and forced him to harness himself in old rusty Armour, in order to be upon his Defence. That he had sent for him to let him know the Truth, to the End that acquainting the *Londoners* with this sudden Execution, he might take Care to appease or prevent the Commotions which ill-affected People might stir up in the City. The *Mayor* and *Aldermen* easily perceived that the Protector did not tell them the whole Truth; but not daring to show their Suspicion, they withdrew, assuring him they would obey his Orders.

What the Protector had said to the *Mayor* and *Aldermen* was only to prepare the People to receive a *Proclamation* upon that Subject, which was published in the City two Hours after the Death of the Lord *Hastings*. The King, in whose Name it was issued out, was made to say in it, that the Lord *Hastings* had conspired to seize his Person, in order to govern the Kingdom as he pleased, and to kill the Protector and the Duke of *Buckingham*. That to prevent his Design, he had been forced, by Advice of his Council, to cause the Criminal to be punished upon the Spot, and that never Man had more deserved to die. That it was he that had perswaded the late King to do so many Things contrary to the Rights and Privileges of the People. That he had endeavoured to debauch him by his Perswasion and Examples, and had lain the Night before with *Shore's* Wife, the Accomplice of all his Crimes, and particularly of that for which he had been executed. There were several other Things in the Proclamation tending

Proclamation upon that Subject.

1484.

tending to lessen the People's Affection and Compassion for the Lord *Hastings*, and to make appear that his Death was a Judgment of God upon him. It was observed that the *Proclamation* was extremely well worded, and very fairly ingrossed on Parchment, though it was published so very soon after that Lord's Death. The which made People apprehend that it was ready prepared beforehand in order to be published immediately after the Execution. For which reason it had but little Effect *.

Jane Shore
condemned
to do open
Penance.

The Pro-
sector
hastens the
Execution
of his De-
sign.

Jane Shore having been accused as an Accomplice of the Lord *Hastings*, the Protector could not help prosecuting her. So having given Orders to arrest her, he commanded her to be brought to the *Tower*, where she was examined before the Council. The Duke of *Gloucester* accused her himself of having intended to waste his Flesh by degrees, by her Sorceries, and of having conspired with the Lord *Hastings* to assassinate him. But besides, that he could bring no Proof of these Accusations, she made so good a Defense that the Council could find no Reason to condemn her. However, as the Protector was unwilling she should come off without Punishment, she was sued for Incontinency, as being guilty of going away from her Husband, and living with other Men. These were Facts that she could not deny, since the whole Court was Witness that she had been kept by the late King, and afterwards by the Lord *Hastings*. Whereupon she was delivered over to the Bishop of *London*, and condemned by the Ecclesiastical Court to do open Penance in *St. Paul's Church* in a white Sheet, with a Wax-Taper in her Hand, before all the People.

The Execution just done at *London* and *Pontfract* without any Process, the Imprisonment of the Archbishop of *York*, the Bishop of *Ely*, and the Lord *Stanley*, left no room to question the Duke of *Gloucester's* Designs. Till then he had been able to give some Colour to his Conduct; but after these violent Proceedings

* People jested and said, it was writ by the Spirit of Prophecy.

ings there was no way left to hide his Intentions. Every one said within himself that these unjust doings could not but end in the King's Destruction. But People durst not tell their Thoughts to one another, such a Terror was there every where spread. They that could have taken Measures to oppose the Protector's Designs were dead or in Prison, and if there were some left capable to make him uneasy, the Example of those that had been treated with so much Barbarity, was more than enough to cause them to act with Circumspection. They plainly saw the Danger which hung over their Heads, if they did but so much as seem to perceive what was plotting.

Fear and Consternation having thus seized the Great Men, the Protector and the Duke of *Buckingham* thought the present Juncture should be improved, and that it was time to make known their Designs. There remained but one Difficulty, and that was to get the *Londoners* to approve of the Change intended. But this was no easy Matter. The Truth is, private Persons may suffer themselves to be won, and if a Man meets with obstinate People, he may dispatch them out of the way as the Lord *Hastings* had been lately served. But the main Point is to persuade a whole Nation that they ought to approve of manifest Acts of Injustice, without they themselves reaping any Benefit by them. Now there is but two Ways to bring this about. The first is to constrain them through Fear, to feign to believe what they believe not; the other, to win those in whom they put any Confidence, that they may by Degrees be brought to what one Desires. After several Consultations the Protector and the Duke of *Buckingham* resolved to use these two Means, the first whereof had already begun to have a very great Effect. For the second they agreed, that by the help of Emissaries they should continue more than ever to spread among the People that *Edward the Fourth's* Children were Illegitimate, and that there Father himself and the Duke of *Clarence* his Brother were not the Duke of *York's* Sons. That these Reports should be backed by a Sermon of Doctor *Shaw's*, whose Eloquence made him followed by the whole City.

*He employed
Dr. Shaw
a famous
Preacher.*

1483.
Shaw's
Sermon at
Paul's-
Cross.

These Measures being taken, the *Doctor* mounted the Pulpit on Sunday Morning at *Paul's-Cross*, and preached upon these Words, *Bastard Slips shall take no deep Root* *. He began with showing the Blessings God usually poured down upon lawful Marriages, and the Calamities which on the contrary fell upon the Issue of an unlawful Bed. There was no want of Examples of both, as well in *sacred* as *prophane* History. Then he dwelt upon the noble Qualities of the Duke of *York*, slain in the Battle of *Wakefield*, and showed how happy the *English* would be to have a Sovereign of the Race of that great Prince. From thence he took occasion to remark, that it was to be feared that the Reign of *Edward V* would be fatal to *England*, since he was born in an illegitimate Marriage. Moreover that neither *Edward IV* nor the late Duke of *Clarence* were Sons of the great Duke of *York*, as was known for certain from some of his own Domesticks, Witnesses of the lewd Life the Dutches their Mother had led. That she had taken to her Bed, in the Sight of all her Servants, Men whom the two Brothers were exactly like. But that the Duke of *Gloucester* was the only one that might truly be called the Duke of *York's* Son. That besides, *Edward IV* was not lawfully married to his Queen, since he had before plighted his Faith to the Lady *Elizabeth Lucy*, as could be made appear by good Evidences. That consequently his Children could be no better than Bastards. That therefore they must not look for true Heirs of the Duke of *York*, either in the Children of *Edward*, or in those of the Duke of *Clarence*, and that their Race would infallibly perish, because *Bastard Plants shall take no deep Root*. But my Lord Protector, continued he, raising his Voice, that noble Prince, the Pattern of all Virtue, carries in his Countenance, in his Air, in his Way, in his Soul, the perfect Image of his illustrious Father. It was designed when he entered upon this Panegyrick that the Duke of *Gloucester* should appear, in hopes that the People

ple moved by the Preacher's Eloquence, would salute him *King*. But it happened that the Duke staying a little too long, the *Doctor* had began another Subject, when he saw him coming in. However he re-assumed his Encomium, and repeated the same Words I have just mentioned, whilst the Duke was pressing through the Crowd to come to his Place. But instead of hearing the Cry of *Long live King Richard !* as he had expected, he saw that every Body kept a deep Silence, the People not being able to forbear detesting the Baseness of the Preacher, instead of applauding his Eloquence. The Sermon being over, the *Doctor* went and hid himself for Shame, neither durst he ever show himself again in Publick. It is said that he died presently after with Grief at his ill Success, and for having lost the Esteem of his Audience.

*Issue of his
Sermon.*

Shaw's Sermon not having produced the Effect that was expected, recourse must be had to other Means; for the Protector was too far in to go back. Wherefore the Duke of *Buckingham* being a fine Speaker, took upon him to harangue the People, imagining that a polite Speech would have a better Effect than *Shaw's* methodical Sermon. To that Purpose the Lord Mayor had orders to assemble the Aldermen, Common-Council, and principal Citizens at *Guild-Hall*. The which being done, the Duke of *Buckingham* came to the Assembly, and taking his Place near the Mayor, told the People, that he was come from the Council, to acquaint them with a Matter of the greatest Importance to the whole Kingdom, but especially to the Inhabitants of *London*. His Speech ran at first upon the Calamities which the People of *England* had suffered in the last Reign. He aggravated in a very violent Manner the Cruelty, Avarice, and Incontinency of *Edward IV*, and endeavoured to the utmost of his Power to render him odious. Then he put his Audience in Mind, that the *Sunday* before, that excellent Man *Dr. Shaw* had clearly proved to them that *Edward* was not lawfully married to his Queen, and that consequently their Issue was spurious : That neither *Edward* himself, nor

*The Duke of
Buckingham harangues the
People at
Guild-Hall
in favour
of the Duke
of Gloucester.*

1483. the Duke of *Clarence* his Brother were the Duke of *York's* Sons, and that to the Proofs alledged by the *Doctor*, he himself could add many others, did not his Respect for the Protector hinder him from dwelling upon the loose Life of the Dutcheſs his Mother : That upon theſe Accounts the Lords of the Council and the *Commons* of the Realm, particularly of the *northern* Counties, had declared that a Baſtard ſhould not ſit on the Throne of *England*, and required that the Crown ſhould be adjudged to the Duke of *Glouceſter* only Son of the late Duke of *York* : That indeed there was reaſon to fear that the magnanimous Duke would reſuſe the Offer : but on the other Side it was to be hoped, that all the People, and eſpecially the Inhabitants of *London*, joining together with one accord, he would ſuffer himſelf to be prevailed with to take upon him the Load of the Government, too weighty for the Shoulders of a Child to bear : That upon all theſe Accounts he required them in his own, and the Name of the Lords of the Council to declare their Minds. Here he made a full Stop, in expectation to hear the People cry, *Long live King Richard* ; but every Body ſtood Speechleſs. So great was their Amazement to hear a Thing propoſed ſo little founded in Juſtice. The Duke ſurprized in his Turn at ſo unexpected a Silence, aſked the *Mayor* the Reaſon of it, who replied, it may be they did not well underſtand him. If that's the Caſe, answered the Duke, I will make my ſelf better underſtood. Then raiſing his Voice, he repeated the Senſe of what he had ſaid before in other Words, with a Gracefulneſs and Eloquence worthy of a nobler Subject. But the People ſtill kept a profound Silence. The Duke confounded that his *Rhetorick* ſhould produce ſo little Effect, talked ſome Time in a low Voice with the *Mayor*, to conſult with him what was to be done. At length the *Mayor* told him, that perhaps the People were ſilent becauſe they were uſed not to be harangued but by the *Recorder*, who was the Mouth of the City. Whereupon he commanded the *Recorder* to ſpeak to the People, the which he did with a great

He expects
in vain
that the
People
ſhould cry,
King
Richard!

He repeats
his Speech.

He orders
the Recorder
to ſpeak
to the People.

a great deal of Reluctance. However he managed his Speech so, that without making any Addition of his own, he repeated to the People the Substance of what the Duke had said. He concluded with requiring the People to give a positive Answer, whether they would have the Duke of *Gloucester* for King or no. At these Words there was a confused Murmuring in the Assembly; and as it was yet uncertain whether the People answered Yea or No, some of the Duke of *Buckingham's* Servants, who had slipped in amongst the Crowd, fell to crying, *Long live King Richard!* Upon that some of the Citizens who had been bribed, but would not venture to lead the Way, seconded the Cry, and the *Apprentices* with the Rabble, who stood near the Door followed their Example, and throwing up their Hats for Joy, cried aloud, a *Richard*, a *Richard!* The Duke of *Buckingham* saw well enough that the Cry came from the Rabble without, and not from the principal Citizens within the *Hall*. Nevertheless, taking hold of this Advantage, he commanded Silence, and refusing his Speech said, that he was overjoyed to see the Unanimity wherewith they approved of the Motion he had made, without any one's opposing it: *Wherefore*, continued he, *My good Friends, I desire you to meet me here to Morrow about this Time, that we may go all together and present our humble Petition to his Highness, and beseech him to condescend to our Request.* Then the *Mayor* having dismissed the People, the Citizens returned to their Houses, with Tears in their Eyes, and Grief in their Hearts, without daring to show it, for fear of offending those whose Interest it was that it should be concealed.

Some of the Mob cry, a Richard!

The Duke pretends it was a general Approbation.

Next Day the Duke of *Buckingham*, with the *Mayor*, *Aldermen*, and a good Number of others of the Cabal came to the Protector's Palace * and sent a Message to him, that the Magistrates of *London* demanded an Audience. The Protector scrupled to go out of his Apartment, pretending fear, that such Numbers were got

He waits upon the Protector with the Mayor, and offers him the Crown.

* At *Baynard's Castle* in *Thames-Street*.

1483.

got together upon no good Design. Whereupon the Duke of *Buckingham* observed to the *Mayor* and those about him, that his Highness must needs be ignorant of what they had to say to him, intimating thereby that he had no Hand in what had passed the Day before. At length, upon repeated Instances that his Highness would be pleased to grant an Audience, he appeared with Signs of great Mistrust, and as not daring to approach such Multitudes, lest some Mischief should happen to him *. Then the Duke of *Buckingham*, without giving the *Mayor* Time to speak, briefly summed up the Grievance which the Nation had suffered in the late Reign. After which he said to the Protector, that the People could find no better Method to free themselves from their Burden, than to pray his Highness to assume the Royal Authority, which of Right belonged to him. He added, that the *Mayor* and *Aldermen* of *London* whom he saw there, were come to petition him in the Name of all the People, who were all of the same Mind,

The Protector refuses it at first.

The Duke of *Gloucester* seeming amazed at this Proposal, made Answer that he was convinced that all he had heard was true. But that he had so great a Veneration for the Memory of the late King his Brother, and so tender an Affection for his Children, that they out-weighed all the Crowns in the World with him. That therefore he could not comply with their Request. That however he was willing to take their Petition in good Part, and thanked them for their Affection. That he advised them to keep stedfast in their Obedience to the Sovereign under whom they lived. That for his Part he would continue, to the utmost of his Power, to give the King his Nephew such Counsels as he should judge most conducive to render his Kingdom flourishing, and his People happy, as he believed he had done hitherto to the Satisfaction of all the World.

The

* He is said to appear in a Gallery with a Bishop on each Side of him.

The Duke of *Buckingham*, seeming dissatisfied with this Answer, murmured some Words to himself which showed his Discontent, and at length demanded leave to speak once more ; and having obtained it, he plainly told the Protector that all the People were unanimously resolved not to acknowledge for King, any of *Edward IV's* Children. That they had gone too far to go back, and therefore if he would not receive the Crown which was offered him, they should be forced to tender it to one who would not refuse it. At these Words the Protector began to be a little more compliant, and at last spoke to the People in this manner : *Since I see the whole Kingdom is resolved not to suffer any of EDWARD's Children to Reign, for which I am extremely concerned, I am fully convinced that the Crown can of Right belong to none but me, who am the undoubted Son of the late Duke of YORK my Father. To this Title is added moreover that of a free Election by the Lords and Commons of the Realm, a Title which I shall look upon as the Chief and most valuable of all. Upon these Accounts I graciously receive your Petition, and from this Moment take upon me the Government of the two Kingdoms of England and France, the former to be governed and defended, and the latter by God's Help, and my People's Assistance, to be subdued. At this they cried out, Long live King Richard III ! The Comedy being over, the People went Home, making upon this Occasion such Reflections as their several Understandings, Interests, or Passions suggested.*

1483.
The Duke of Buckingham threatens to give the Crown to another.

The Protector accepts of it.

His Speech to the People.

The End of the Reign of EDWARD V.

T H E



K. RICHARD III.

G. Vertue Sculp.



THE HISTORY of ENGLAND.

SECT. III.

18. RICHARD III. *Sirnamed* CROOK-BACK.



HE Duke of Gloucester, having attained his Aim by such extraordinary Methods, and in spite of all the Obstacles which lay in the Way of his Ambition, was proclaim'd King the 22d of June, by the Name of Richard III. He might have been crown'd

1483.
RICH-
ARD III
is pro-
claim'd.

the next Day, since the Preparations for Edward the Fifth's Coronation were all ready. But he put off the Ceremony to the sixth of July, waiting the Arrival of five Thousand Men, which he had sent for from the North, because he did not care to confide altogether in the Citizens of London.

In the mean Time, he gave the Great Seal to the Bishop of Lincoln, one of his Favourites. On the 28th of June he conferr'd the Office of Earl Marshal upon

The Bishop
of Lin-
coln is
made
the Chancellor.

1483.
A&S. Pub.
XII. 189,
190.
and John
Howard
Duke of
Norfolk.

the Lord *John Howard**, and next Day the Title of *Duke of Norfolk*. The Day following he empowered him to exercise the Office of *Higb-Steward* in Matters belonging to the Coronation, and for that Time only. A few Days after, he created *Thomas Howard* his Son, *Earl of Surrey*, *William Berkley*, *Earl of Nottingham*, and the Lord *Lovel*, one of his Confidents, *Viscount* of the same Name.

Archbishop
of York
and Stan-
ley are re-
leased.

Thomas Rotherham Archbishop of *York*, and the Lord *Thomas Stanley*, who had been imprisoned the Day the Lord *Hastings* was executed, were set at Liberty at the same Time, and the new King made the Lord *Stanley* Lord *Steward of the Household*. He did not do this from a Motive of Affection or Trust, but out of Fear that the Lord *Strange* his Son, who was beginning to raise Forces in *Lincolnshire*, should stir up Commotions, the Consequences whereof he much dreaded.

The Bishop
of Ely is
committed
to the Cust-
ody of
Bucking-
ham.

As for Dr. *Morton* Bishop of *Ely*, who had been arrested the same Day, the King designed not to do him the same Favour. But the *University of Oxford*, of which that Prelate was a Member, having presented a *Petition* in his behalf, he thought he should not reject it at a Time when he wanted to gain the Affection of his new Subjects. However, as he hated that Bishop mortally, he could not find in his Heart to set him entirely at Liberty. He only took him out of the *Tower* where he was confin'd, and committed him to the Custody of the Duke of *Buckingham*, who sent him to his Castle of *Brecknock* in *Wales*. He was a Man of but mean Parentage, but having studied at *Oxford*, where he had taken his *Doctor's Degree*, he was in so high Repute there on the Score of his Learning and Parts, that he was taken from thence and made a *Privy-Councillor* by *Henry VI.* The Revolution which had set *Edward IV* on the Throne, made no Alteration in his Fortune. *Edward* apparently pleas'd with his obliging Carriage, had kept him in the same Post, and promoted him to the

* He was Son of Sir *Richard Howard* and *Margaret* Daughter and Co-heir of *Thomas Mowbray* Duke of *Norfolk*.

the Bishoprick of *Ely*. From thenceforward he was wholly addicted to that Prince, and that was the Ground of *Richard's* Hatred to him, who put him under Confinement the same Day the Lord *Hastings* was beheaded, for fear his Love to the late King's Family should move him to oppose his Designs.

1483.

The sixth of *July* the Coronation of the King and Queen was performed with great Solemnity. All the Peers of the Realm were present for fear of being mistrusted by the new King, whose suspicious Temper they all new very well. *Margaret* Countess of *Richmond* Wife of the Lord *Stanley*, and Mother of the Earl of *Richmond* who was detained in *Bretagne*, held up the Queen's Train.

The King
and Queen
crown'd.

Richard enjoyed but two Years and two Months the Crown that he had so eagerly thirsted after. He spent his whole Reign in devising Means to support himself in the Throne; and as he had obtain'd the Crown by Blood and Wickedness, he endeavour'd to keep Possession by the same Methods. But all his Measures prov'd ineffectual, Divine Providence having been pleas'd to blast Projects which were founded wholly upon Injustice, Violence, and the Subversion of the Laws. The present Circumstances of Things seem'd however to befriend him very much. The *Lancastrian* Family was quite extinct in *England*. *Henry* Earl of *Richmond*, the only Relict of that *House*, was in the Hands of the Duke of *Bretagne*, who had promised *Edward IV* to hinder him from going out of his Dominions. *Margaret* his Mother showed no Inclination to assert her Rights. Besides, she was subject to a Husband whom *Richard* had just attach'd to his Interest by one of the most considerable Posts at Court. As to the Princes and Princesses of *Portugal* and *Castile*, descended of *Philippa* and *Catharine* of *Lancaster* Daughters of *John of Gant*, they were at too great a Distance to create the new King any Uneasiness. In fine, there was not a Lord in the Kingdom that seemed to have Credit enough to be able to raise Commotions, the *Civil War* having swept away great Numbers, and entirely destroyed several antient

Circum-
stances fa-
vourable
for Rich-
ard.

1483.

Families. As for those that were still left, *Richard* was in hopes to win them by Favours, as he had already begun to do with regard to the Duke of *Buckingham*, the Duke of *Norfolk*, the Lord *Stanley*, and some others. As to the *Yorkists* that adher'd to the Family of *Edward IV*, such as the *Woodvilles*, *Greys*, and others of the new Nobility, he had already dispatch'd some out of the Way, and the rest were fled. The Queen-Widow still kept close with her five Daughters in her *Sanctuary*, from whence she durst not stir, and where she seemed not to have it in her Power to hurt him. The Marquis of *Dorset* her Brother had likewise taken *Sanctuary*, and Sir *Richard Woodville* had absconded. In fine, *Edward V* and the Duke of *York* his Brother were in the *Tower*, where since the 27th of *June*, *Richard* had taken Care to place as Governour Sir *Robert Brackenbury* his Creature. Thus nothing seemed capable to shake the new Monarch's Throne.

Richard's
Measures
for his
Safety.

Mean while, to be provided against whatever might happen, he formed the Project to make sure of *Castile* and *Portugal*, of the Archduke *Maximilian*, who governed the *Low-Countries* in the Name of *Philip* his Son, of *France* and *Bretagne*, from whence he was afraid his Enemies might procure Assistance. And in order to break all the Measures which the Friends of *Edward's* Family might take against him, he resolved to put to Death young King *Edward V* and the Duke of *York* his Nephews. These were *Richard's* first Projects to secure his Crown, which created him no less Uneasiness after he had it, than whilst he was labouring to obtain it.

Ambassy to
Castile;
Act. Pub.
XII. 193.

To put all these Designs in Execution, on the 12th of *July* he appointed for his Ambassador, to *Castile*, *Bernard de la Force*, with Orders to go and try to renew the old Alliance with Queen *Isabella* and *Ferdinand* King of *Arragon* her Husband. Next Day he gave the like Commission to *Thomas Hutton*, to go and treat about prolonging the Truce with *Francis II* Duke of *Bretagne*. In all appearance, *Hutton* had secret Instructions to endeavour to get the Earl of *Richmond* delivered.

to Bre-
tagne ;
p. 194.

up,

up, or at least to renew the Treaty made upon that Account between *Edward IV* and the Duke. Two Days after he appointed Commissioners to treat with *France* about some Violations of the Truce, that he might have an Opportunity to get it confirmed.

These Measures being taken, nothing more remained but to execute the main Article, which was to make away his two Nephews. To that Purpose he resolved to be at a Distance from *London*, that their Death happening in his Absence, he might be the less suspected of it. With this view he set out from *London* to go and visit several Counties, under Colour of reforming Abuses which had been introduced to the great Detriment of the People. His Progress to the North was particularly necessary to curb the Insolence of the Troops he had sent for from thence, who after their Return, had been guilty of great Outrages. But before he went to *York*, he made some stay at *Gloucester*, that he might not be too far from *London*, whilst his Orders about his Nephews should be put in Execution.

The Duke of *Buckingham*, his intimate Friend and Confident, went with him as far as *Gloucester*. He had loaded that Lord with Estates and Honours, as well whilst he was Protector, as after he became King. But the Duke still expected another Favour, of which he had received a positive Promise. And that was the Moiety of the Lands of the House of *Hereford*, to which he thought he had a very good Title. The Foundation of his Claim will plainly appear by the following Genealogy.

He resolves
to put his
Nephews
to Death.

He goes to
Gloucester

The Duke of
Buckingham
demands the
Inheritance
of *Hereford*.

His Claim.

HUMPHREY

HUMPHREY BOHUNEarl of *Hereford* and *Northampton*:

MARY BOHUN

Wife of
HENRY IV.

HENRY V.

HENRY VI.

EDWARD
Prince of *Wales*.

ANN

THOMAS of *Woodstock*
Earl of *Gloucester*
Son of EDWARD III.ANN
EDMUND Earl of *Stafford*.HUMPHREY
Duke of *Buckingham*:HENRY
Duke of *Buckingham*.

To consider only this *Genealogy*, it is evident that the Duke of *Buckingham* had a Right to claim one half of the Earl of *Hereford*'s Lands, as descended from one of his Daughters. But there were other Reasons which made his Title disputable. When *Richard II* put the Duke of *Gloucester* his Uncle to Death at *Calais*, he caused his Estate to be confiscated by the Parliament, and gave what that Prince held in Right of *Ann* his Wife, to the Earl of *Derby*, who had married the eldest of the Sisters, and withal created him *Duke of Hereford*. Thus the Earl of *Derby* took Possession of the whole Inheritance of the Earl of *Hereford* his Father-in-law, and having afterwards mounted the Throne by the Name of *Henry IV*, all his Lands were annexed to the Crown, and hence it was that the Crown was possessed of the whole Estate of the *Hereford* Family, down to the Time that *Richard III* ascended the Throne. However when *Richard* being Protector, had a Mind to engage the Duke of *Buckingham* to serve him in his Design to usurp the Crown, he promised to restore him one Moiety of the Lands which had been taken away from the Duke of *Gloucester* his Great-Grandfather.

But

But after he was King he altered his Mind; either because he thought he had made him ample amends otherwise, or because he was afraid of rendering him too powerful; and so giving him an Opportunity to aspire to the Throne as descended of *Edward III.* Be that as it will, the Duke having put him in mind of his Promise, as they were travelling together, received such an Answer as left him no room to expect that *Justice* or *Favour*. The Duke, who was exceedingly high-spirited, was so offended at the King's Answer, that he desired Leave to go and look after his own private Affairs. *Richard* not imagining that his Refusal had made so deep an Impression upon the Duke's Mind, or it may be not fearing the Effects of his Resentment, gave him the Leave he desired, and parting from him at *Gloucester* he pursued his Journey to *York*.

1483.
The King
denies his
Request;

upon which
the Duke
retires.

During the King's Stay at *Gloucester*, he sent an express Order to *Brackenbury*, Governor of the *Tower of London*, to put *Edward V.* and the Duke of *York* his Brother to Death. *Brackenbury* more conscientious than his Master, return'd a very submissive Answer; but withal, let him know that he should never be able to bring himself to execute his Commands. *Richard* vexed to be deceived in his Opinion of that Officer, sent him by *James Tyrrel* a written Order, to deliver to the Bearer the Keys and Government of the *Tower* for one Night only. *Brackenbury* obeyed, and *Tyrrel* brought in his Agents to execute the King's Orders. That very Night, whilst every body was asleep, he went into the two Princes's Room, and having smothered them in their Bed, caused them to be buried under a little Stair-case. This is what *Tyrrel* himself confessed afterwards, who was executed in the Reign of *Henry VII.* In 1674, whilst they were making some Alterations in that Part of the *Tower*, some Bones were found, which were supposed to be the Bones of *Edward V.* and the Duke of *York*, and upon that Supposition *Charles II.*, who then reigned, had them put into a *Marble Urn*, and removed to *Westminster* among the Tombs of the Kings*. As the

Death of
Edward V.
and of the
Duke of
York.

Their Bones
are found in
the Reign of
Charles II.

* In the time of *Chichester* Master of the Ordnance, great Heaps of Records

1483.

the two Princes were never heard of any more since the Day *Tyrrel* went to *the Tower*; and as their Domesticks were dismissed, the Publick doubted not but that they were sacrificed to their Uncle's Safety.

The King is
crowned a-
gain at
York.

Richard having received the News of the Death of his two Nephews, continued his Journey to the North, and came to *York* about the End of *August*. As the Pretence of his going thither was to minister Justice to the People, he could not help executing some of the Northern Soldiers, who in their way back from *London* had committed great Outrages. Then he caused himself to be crowned a second Time at the Cathedral of *York* in the Beginning of *September*, and the same Day he created his Son, then Ten Years old, *Prince of Wales*, with the usual Formalities.

He creates
his Son
Prince of
Wales.

The Alli-
ance with
Castile is
renewed.
Act. Pub.
XII. 199.

A few Days before his Coronation he had received the agreeable News that *Ferdinand* and *Isabella* was beforehand with him in demanding the Confirmation of the Alliance between *England* and *Castile*, by an Ambassador whom they had sent on purpose, and who was then come to *York*. The renewing of that Alliance which he ratified himself the 31st of *August* was Matter of great Joy to him. He found by that, as *Ferdinand* and *Isabella* acknowledged him for lawful King, they were forming no Project to restore to the Throne *the House of Lancaster*, from whence Queen *Isabella* was descended, being Grand-Daughter of *Catharine of Lancaster*, Daughter of *John of Gant*. He expressed his Satisfaction by conferring the Honour of Knighthood upon *Geoffrey de Sasiola* Ambassador of *Castile*, who had brought him the good News, and by writing Letters full of Esteem, Affection and Acknowledgment to the King and Queen of *Spain*,

Sept. 8.
p. 200.

ords of Bills and Answers lying in the Six-Clerk's Office, were removed to be repositied in the *White Tower*, and a new Pair of Stairs were making into the Chapel there, for the easier Conveyance of them thither, the Labourers in digging at the Foot of the old Stairs, came to the Bones of consumed Corps covered with a Heap of Stones. The which Bones King *Charles* caused to be interred in *Henry VII's* Chapel, near two other Royal Children, *Mary* and *Sophia*, Daughters of King *James I.* with a Monument of White Marble, with an Inscription on it in Capital Letters.

Spain, to the Cardinal *de Mendoza*, and to the Earl of *Leryn* their Ministers. 1483.

Lewis XI. King of *France* died *August* the 29th this Year. *Charles VIII.* his only Son being a *Minor*, succeeded him under the Guardianship of *Ann* his Sister, Wife of *Peter de Bourbon*, Lord of *Beaujeu*, pursuant to the late King's Directions. But *Lewis Duke of Orleans*, first Prince of the Blood, disputed the Regency with her. This Contest raised in the Court of *France* Disturbances which prevented the Ministers from attending to the renewing or confirming the Truce with *England*, which *Richard* earnestly solicited. Death of Lewis XI.
Troubles at the Court of France.

Whilst the King was flattering himself with having taken all necessary Measures to support himself on the Throne, a Conspiracy was forming against him, which ended in his Ruin, after it had first proved the Destruction of its Author. I left the Duke of *Buckingham* very much disgusted, and taking his leave of the King in order to go to his own Estate. He was a Person of a lively and penetrating Genius, exceeding proud, ambitious, revengeful, and not very strict in his Morals. During *Edward the Fourth's* Life, he could never bring himself to stoop to the Queen, though she had a great Ascendent over the King her Husband. He was even looked upon as the Head of the Party of the *Antient* Nobility against the *New*, which was wholly made up of the Queen's Relations and Creatures. It was chiefly from his Aversion to the Queen, that after *Edward IV's* Death he devoted himself entirely to the Duke of *Gloucester*, whom he helped to the Protectorship, and at length to the Crown itself, as we have seen in the former Reign. In return for so signal a Service *Richard* had liberally bestowed his Favours upon him. Particularly he had made him as it were Master of *Wales* and the adjoining *Counties*, by the Posts and Governments he had given him in those Parts. But all these Favours were forgotten when he refused to grant him a Moiety of the Lands of *Hereford*. The Duke perceived the King's Policy, in giving him Posts which he could take from him at Pleasure, whereas in restoring the Lands he The Duke of Buckingham conspires against the King.
Cause of his Disgrace.

1483.

laid claim to, it would not have been in his Power to resume them without using Force. This Procedure convinced him that the King had a mind to keep him always in Dependence; and as he was perfectly well acquainted with that Prince's Character, he easily perceived that the least Thing would be sufficient to make him forfeit all he possessed. Besides, he found that the King did him an evident Injustice, in denying him what he thought he had so lawful a Title to: That moreover he was not so good as his Word, and showed himself extremely ungrateful in making so ill a Return for the Services he had received from him. All these Things gave him room to fear that he had determined to ruin him in time.

*The Duke
and Bishop
of Ely
consult to-
gether how
to dethrone
the King.*

Full of these sinister Thoughts he came to his Castle of *Brecknock*, where *Dr. Morton* Bishop of *Ely* was Prisoner under his Custody. In his frequent Conversations with that Prelate, he could not help discovering his Resentment against the King. The Bishop, who was a Man of Sense, quickly found that the Duke was dissatisfied, and it was that which imboldened him to speak his Mind freely. He observed that the Duke took pleasure in hearing him, and would have perhaps spoken himself more plainly, if he had dared to trust him entirely. Wherefore, to inspire him with more Confidence, he affected to talk of the King in such a Manner, as by showing what he thought of him, gave likewise the Duke to understand that he should find in him one ready to second him in his Designs. At length, after having sounded one another for some Time, they opened their Minds to one another, and lamented together the unhappy State the Kingdom was in under such a King. The Death of *Edward V.* and of the Duke his Brother, afforded them fresh Matter to exclaim against *Richard*. They concluded from thence, that since he had not spared his own Nephews, no Lord in the Kingdom could be sure of his Life. These Conversations ended at length in the Duke's requesting the Bishop to tell him freely whether he saw no way to prevent the Mischiefs they
had

had reason to fear, promising with an Oath to keep the Secret inviolably. *Morton*, who till then was under some Apprehensions that the Duke intended to lay a Snare for him, being encouraged by this Oath, told him in plain Terms, that it was his Opinion there was no other way but to pull down *Richard*, and set up another King. He owned, that although he could have wished the Crown had continued in the Family of *Henry IV*, yet he was not able to avoid being carried away with the Torrent, when he saw that almost all *England* declared for *Edward IV*. That afterwards, *Henry VI*, and the Prince his Son being dead, he had faithfully adhered to *Edward*. That upon *Edward's* Death he had served with the same Zeal his young Son whom he believed to be his lawful Successor. That afterwards he beheld with Grief the Duke of *Gloucester* aspiring to the Throne, and having the Honour to be one of the Council, he thought it his Duty to endeavour to oppose his Design. But that instead of succeeding, he had only drawn upon himself the Hatred and Ill-will of that Prince, who had thrown him into Prison purely on the Score of adhering to the Family of *Edward IV*. That this Act of Violence and Injustice had increased his Aversion for the Usurper, and that the tragical Death of the two young Princes had carried his Hatred to the utmost Height. That being in these Circumstances, he had considered with himself what Prince would be the most proper to be placed on the Throne in the Room of the Tyrant, and that he could think of no other than the Duke of *Buckingham*, who was descended from a Son of *Edward III*. That the whole Race of *Lancaster* being extinct, at least in *England*, there remained of the House of *York* none but the Tyrant and his Son, with the young Earl of *Warwick* Son of the Duke of *Clarence*. As for the last, he could not pretend to the Crown, his Father's *Attainder* having debarred his Heirs of the Right of inheriting. That the present King had rendered himself unworthy of the Crown by his Crimes, and to preserve the Son's Right, after destroying the Father, would be to act by Halfs. That

The Bishop proposes to the Duke to make himself King.

1483. therefore, once more, he saw only the Duke of *Buckingham* capable of lawfully claiming the Crown.

The Duke listened very attentively to this Discourse, but deferred giving an Answer till next Day. This Delay threw the Bishop into a very great Perplexity, since it left him still uncertain whether the Duke was sincere, or whether he designed only to sift him. By the way, it seems that the Bishop was not over-scrupulous, since knowing the Duke of *Buckingham's* Character, as he must have done, he did not stick to offer his Service to set him on the Throne. This is a shrewd Sign that he acted more from a Motive of Revenge against *Richard*, than with a View to the Good of the Publick. The King and the Duke were too much alike to expect any great Benefit by the Change.

*The Duke
rejects the
Proposal,
and names
the Earl of
Richmond*

Next Day having resumed their Discourse, the Duke after a long Apology for all his former Actions, freely confessed to the Prelate that he had once an Intention to aspire to the Throne, but upon mature Deliberation had entirely dropped all Thoughts of it. That he had considered, that by acting for himself, he should stir up against him all the Friends of the Two *Houses of York and Lancaster*, both equally concerned to oppose his Pretensions. That there was a Prince nearer than he, whom *the House of Lancaster* looked upon as their Head, and he it was on whom he had cast his Eyes to make him King. Then he named *Henry Earl of Richmond* who was in *Bretagne*. He added, that the Project to restore *the House of Lancaster* to the Throne would bring over one half of the Kingdom to that Prince's Interest, and that he had hit upon a lucky Expedient to win him the other half: And that was, to cause him to take to Wife *Elizabeth*, eldest Daughter of *Edward IV.* who would make all the *Yorkists* his Friends. That moreover, the Nation would receive great Benefit from thence, in as much as all the Seeds of the Civil Wars would be destroyed by the Union of the two contending *Houses*. That by this Means even those who were indifferent for either Party, would be forced, as one may say, to help forward the common Good of
their

1483,

their Country, and that then *Richard's* few Friends would not be able to counter-balance so strong a Power. Whereas if he pretended to set up himself, he should unite the whole Kingdom against him, since there was not the least Colour to shut out from the Throne, two *Houses* that had been in Possession above fourscore Years. In fine, he added, that as he was on the Road to *Brecknock*, he met the Countess of *Richmond*, and that having sounded her upon this Head, he believed he could be sure that she would not be backward to lend a helping Hand to the Advancement of her Son.

The Bishop liked this Expedient as more conformable to Justice and Equity, and more adapted to the Good of the Realm, especially as it came from the only Person, who would have had Reason to oppose it, had it been offered by any other Hand.

Henry Earl of Richmond was of *Welsh* Extraction, as I observed elsewhere. But *Margaret* his Mother was Daughter of *John de Beaufort* Duke of *Somerset*, Grandson of *John of Gant* Duke of *Lancaster*. *Margaret's* Father dying without Issue-Male, *Edmund* his younger Brother inherited his Title. But *Edmund* and all his Posterity having been destroyed in the Civil Wars, *Margaret* and her Son were the only Remains of that House. And therefore it seemed that they were the undoubted Heirs of all the Rights of the *House of Lancaster*. But for all that their Title was liable to great Objections.

Whilst *John of Gant* Duke of *Lancaster* lived with *Constantia* of *Castile* his second Wife, he kept as his Concubine *Catharine Roët* Widow of *Sir Otho de Swinford*, and had several Children by her. *Constantia* his Wife being dead, he married his Concubine, and had Interest enough to get his Children born before Marriage legitimated by an *Act* of Parliament, and by *Richard II's* Letters Patent granted in pursuance of the *Act*. However the King and the Parliament, willing to make a Distinction between these *natural* Children, and the others born in *Wedlock*, gave them not the Name

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Name of *Lancaster* or *Plantagenet*, but that of *Beaufort*, the Name of the Castle where they were born. Moreover, though in the *Act* of Parliament, and in the King's *Letters Patent*, Power was granted them to hold *Principalities*, *Dukedoms*, *Earldoms*, &c. and to transmit them to their Heirs, yet there was not the least mention of inheriting the Crown. During the Reigns of *Henry IV*, and *Henry V*, the Princes of this Branch durst not assume the Name of *Lancaster*. It was not till about the End of *Henry VI*'s Reign that *Edmund* Duke of *Somerset* being *Prime Minister*, and a great Stickler for the King, against the Duke of *York*, began by Degrees to assert his Descent from *John of Gant*, and his Kindred to the King as being of the *House of Lancaster*. It was a Question therefore to know whether the Princes of this Branch could succeed to the Crown in their Turn. And supposing they could, the Point was to know when their Turn was to be, and whether the Heirs of *John of Gant*'s Daughters born in *Wedlock*, were not to have the Precedence of the Issue of a Male who was only legitimated, and born before Marriage. If so, there were no less than ten or twelve Princes and Princesses in *Portugal*, *Castile* and *Germany*, who would have excluded the Earl of *Richmond*. On the other Hand, it seems that by *Edward IV*'s Endeavours to get the Earl of *Richmond* into his Hands, he had as good as owned him capable of inheriting all the Rights of the *House of Lancaster*. This was a Question which might have been bandied in those Days, but as it has been decided above two Hundred Years since, it requires no farther Examination, unless out of mere Curiosity, those that are versed in such sort of Matters are willing to exercise their Wits.

It is very likely that if the Duke of *Buckingham* had imagined it was in his Power to mount the Throne, he would not have failed to object against the Earl of *Richmond*'s Title the Reasons I have just touched upon. But as he had himself observed, in discoursing with the Bishop of *Ely*, he could not set up himself without bringing upon his Back the two *Houses of York*

and *Lancaster*, that is to say, the whole Kingdom, which was divided between these two Factions. Wherefore the Pretext to restore the *House of Lancaster*, and to put an End to the Civil Wars by the Union of the two contending *Houses*, was by far the more natural way to be revenged of *Richard*. I say to be revenged, for it is hard to believe that a Man of his Character should act upon this Occasion from a nobler Motive.

Be that as it will, the Duke and the Bishop having laid their Heads together how to bring about their Designs, came to this Conclusion: That all hopes of Success were founded upon the Marriage of the Earl of *Richmond* with the Princess *Elizabeth*; That therefore, before all Things that Point was to be secured, without which it would be to labour in vain, or at least with great uncertainty. To that End they agreed, that they should without loss of Time acquaint the Countess of *Richmond* with their Project, that she might inform her Son of it, and see to get the Queen-Dowager, Mother of the Princess, to consent to the Match.

The Duke and Bishop inform the Countess of Richmond of their Design.

But as the conferring with *Margaret* would have been very dangerous for the Duke of *Buckingham*, considering how exceeding jealous the King was of the *House of Somerset*, the Bishop told him that he had an old Friend in the Countess's Service, one [*Reginald*] *Bray*, whom they might safely trust with the Secret. The Duke approving of the Expedient, *Bray* was privately sent for to *Brecknock*, and the Project being imparted to him, the proposing it to his Mistress was left to his Care. More especially he was charged to let her understand that the Marriage of the Earl her Son was the Basis and Ground-work on which the whole Project was built.

As soon as *Bray* was gone to deliver his Message, the Bishop of *Ely* desired the Duke to let him go to his Bishoprick. He was justly afraid of his Life, in case the Plot should come to be discovered. It may be he did not wholly depend upon the Duke's Sincerity. But the Duke gave him two invincible Reasons why he could not comply with his Request. The first was, that

The Bishop of Ely flies into Flanders.

1483.

He writes to
the Duke.

that he should be guilty of letting his Prisoner escape, the which alone would be enough to make the King suspect him. The second, that in an Undertaking of this Nature, he could not do without his Advice. The Bishop seemed to yield to these Reasons. But he had by him stronger Reasons still, to free himself from the impending Danger, in case the Business was discovered. And therefore as he was not so narrowly watched by his Keepers, since his frequent Conversations with the Duke, he found Means to escape, and retire to *Ely*, from whence he fled into *Flanders*. Upon his Arrival there, he wrote to the Duke to excuse his going off, and at the same Time endeavoured to convince him, that it was much more in his Power to forward the Execution of their intended Design, than whilst he was a Prisoner. He conjured him likewise to continue firm in his Resolution, and showed him how he might carry on a private Correspondence with him.

The Countess of
Richmond enters into
the Plot.

In the mean while, the Countess of *Richmond* having been informed of what was projected in Favour of the Earl her Son, sent back her Servant to the Duke of *Buckingham* with her Compliment of Thanks ; and withal let him know that she was going to try to get the Queen Dowager's Consent for the Match, and then she would take the most proper Measures to send Word to the Earl of *Richmond*.

She acquaints the
Queen Dowager
with it.

Elizabeth Woodville Widow of *Edward IV*, was all this while in her Sanctuary at *Westminster* with her five Daughters, lamenting the Death of her two Sons, and blaming herself for having been the Occasion, by her Easiness in delivering the Duke of *York* to his Uncle. There had never been any particular Friendship between that Queen and the Countess of *Richmond*. One was Wife to a King of the *House of York*, and the other was of the Family of the *Somerse'ts*, sworn Enemies of the *Yorkists*, wherefore the Countess could not visit the Queen in her Sanctuary, without causing great Suspicion. To avoid this Inconvenience, she made use of one *Lewis* her Physician, and having communicated the whole Affair to him, ordered him to go to *London* and

and manage it so as to see the Queen, and inform her of what was in Agitation. Above all, she charged him to tell her, that all Prospect of Success depended upon the Union of the two *Houses* of *York* and *Lancaster*, by the Marriage of the Princess *Elizabeth* with the Earl of *Richmond*. 1483.

Lewis being come to *London*, found no great Difficulty to get Admittance to the Queen as a Physician. He communicated to her the Errand he was sent upon, and let her know that it would be her own Fault if she did not revenge herself upon her mortal Enemy, the Murderer of her Children, and dethrone the Usurper, provided she would but consent to the Marriage proposed. The Queen gladly listened to the Overture. She charged the *Doctor* to tell his Mistress that she liked the Project, and would order it so that all the King her Husband's Friends should join with the Earl of *Richmond*. But she added, that she wished the Earl would take his Oath to marry *Elizabeth*, or in Case she happened to dye, *Cecilia* her younger Sister. *Who promises to give her Daughter to the Earl of Richmond.*

Matters being thus settled between the Queen Dowager, the Countess of *Richmond*, and the Duke of *Buckingham*. They endeavoured to engage in the Plot their most trusty Friends, who likewise drew in others. The *English* were as favourably inclined as one could wish them, upon three Accounts. First, because of the Peoples universal Hatred of the King, who had made himself extremely odious, as well by what he had done during his Protectorship, as by the Crime he had just committed, in putting his Nephews to Death, after he had robbed them of the Crown. He had by that Means lost the most Part of the Friends of the *House of York*, who only wanted an Opportunity to avenge the Family of *Edward IV.* In the second Place, all the *Lancastrians* beheld with Pleasure, a Project tending to restore the *House of Lancaster* to the Throne. Lastly, Those that without minding the Interests of the two Factions, had only the Good of the Nation in view, could not but *The Temper of the Nation favourable to the Conspirators.*

1483. look upon as a great Happiness, the Success of an Enterprize, which by uniting the two contending Houses, would put an End to the Civil War where-with the Kingdom had been embroiled thirty Years. Thus the *Lancastrians*, *Yorkists*, and even those that stood Neuter, were equally disposed to concur to the Downfall of the Usurper.

The Duke begins to take Measures to execute his Designs.

The Duke of *Buckingham* being the Author and Head of the Undertaking, it was his Part to see to bring it to a happy Issue. With this view he first made sure of some Friends in *Wales*, where his Power was great, who took upon them to list Soldiers privately, that he might be in a readiness to bring an Army into the Field on a sudden and in the Nick of Time. Then he settled a Correspondence with some Gentlemen of *Dorsetshire*, *Devonshire* and *Cornwall*, who promised to raise Forces and receive the Earl of *Richmond* at his Arrival. His Design was to go and join them himself with his *Welshmen*, that *Richard* might be less able to oppose the Earl's Landing. At the same Time several Lords and Gentlemen were to rise in other Counties, that the King might be at a Loss to know where to march first. The Marquis of *Dorset* who had lately quitted his *Sanctuary*, Sir *Richard Woodville* his Brother, the Bishop of *Exeter*, Sir *Edward Courtney* his Brother, and several other Persons of Quality engaged in the Plot.

The Earl of Richmond is informed of all.

These Measures being taken, the Countess of *Richmond* sent two Expresses to the Earl her Son, by different Ways, to let him know what had been determined in his Favour, and in what forwardness Matters were. The two Expresses arriving almost together informed him of all the Circumstances of the Plot, and prayed him to repair into *England* without loss of Time, upon the Assurance they gave him that every Thing was ready for his Reception. They told him likewise that *Dorsetshire*, *Devonshire* or *Cornwall* were the most convenient Places to land in, by reason of the Measures which were taken with the People of those Parts.

The

The Earl of *Richmond* was then at *Vannes* in *Bretagne*, where he had been several Years really a Prisoner, by reason of the Engagements which the Duke of *Bretagne* had entered into with *Edward IV* ; but his Confinement was not strict, the Duke contenting himself with having him narrowly watched, in order to hinder him from making his Escape, in case he should attempt it. In other Respects he enjoyed an honourable Freedom. He was very glad to hear that they thought of him in *England*. But when he came to consider his present Condition, and how little it was in his Power to return into his own Country, so as to meet with a welcome Reception, he found that it would be next to impossible to succeed in his Enterprize, without the Consent and Assistance of the Duke of *Bretagne*. And indeed without that Prince would furnish him with Money, Troops and Ships, it was not practicable for him to take just Measures to accomplish his Design. Besides, the Duke might have made him close Prisoner, by which means the whole Affair would have miscarried. Perceiving therefore he could not do without him, he resolved to tell him the whole Secret, and engage him if possible to aid him. He found the Duke more ready to countenance him than he expected. The Duke had entered into no Engagements with *Richard*, as he had done with *Edward* his Brother. Besides, the unjust and violent Proceedings of the new King had rendered him odious in the Eyes of all the Princes of *Europe*, and especially of the Duke of *Bretagne*. Another Thing likewise helped to make him lend an Ear to the Earl's Proposals. He had a Claim to the Earldom of *Richmond* in *England*, which his Ancestors had formerly enjoyed, and he imagined the Earl would readily promise to restore it him, if by his Means he should obtain the Crown. 'Tis pretended that this was the main Article of their Agreement, for which the Duke very willingly engaged to supply him with Men and Ships. As soon as the Earl was sure of the Duke of *Bretagne*'s Assistance, he sent Expresses to the Countess

1483.

He resolves
to impart
the Matter
to the Duke
of Bre-
tagne.

The Duke
promises
him Assist-
ance.

1483.

his Mother, and the Duke of *Buckingham*, to acquaint them that he hoped to be ready by the Beginning of *October*, desiring them to prepare all Things by that Time. This good News presently set all the Conspirators at work. Every one repaired to the Post assigned him, as well to raise Forces as to stir up Insurrections. There was no time to lose, good Part of *September* being already past.

Richard
receives
confused
Notions of
the Conspi-
racy.

How careful soever the Conspirators had been to conceal themselves, all these Things could not be done and *Richard* have no Intelligence that some Plot was hatching against him. But no body could tell him what it was, or who were the Authors. He was then at *York*, thinking of quite other Things, so secure was he in his own Thoughts. But these Advices obliged him to leave the *North*, and come nearer the Center of the Kingdom. At the same time he ordered his Troops which were dispersed in several Parts, to be in a readiness to march at a Moment's Warning. Mean while, he went on but slowly with his Preparations, not dreaming that the Danger was so near.

He suspects
the Duke of
Buckingham.

As the Intelligence he had received made him uneasy, he ran over in his Mind all the Lords of the Realm who could be disgusted, or had Credit enough to stir up Insurrections against him. He could pitch upon none but the Duke of *Buckingham*. He had angered him by not keeping his Word with him as to the Lands of *Hereford*, and knowing him perfectly well, he could make no doubt but that he was capable of doing any thing to be revenged. Besides, he knew that he alone was in a Condition by his Parts, his Riches, and his Interests, to form and carry on great Designs. He himself had experienced this too much to question it. The Bishop of *Ely's* Escape serv'd to strengthen his Suspicion. The Duke of *Buckingham* must needs have known how odious that Prelate was to him, and therefore his Carelessness in guarding such a Prisoner, could not but be construed as a Collusion and Consequence of some ill Design. Upon these Suspicions, which were but too well-grounded,

He orders
him to
Court.

Richard

Richard came to a Resolution to send for him to Court; but the Duke desired to be excused on Pretence of some Indisposition. This Refusal confirmed the King in his Belief, that what he had suspected was but too true: Nevertheless, to be more fully convinced of the Matter, he sent him positive Orders to come to him, without alledging any Excuse. The Duke perceiving he could dissemble no longer, sent him word that he could not trust his Person with his most mortal Enemy, and that he could not, neither would he depend any longer upon him.

1483.

The Duke refuses, and declares against the King.

There needed no more to satisfy the King that the Duke of *Buckingham* was at the Bottom of the Plot, which for some time had made him uneasy. On the other Hand, the Duke plainly perceiving that after such a Declaration there were no more Measures to be taken, drew together the Forces which he himself and his Friends had privately listed in *Wales*, and began to march towards the *Western* Counties, where he knew the Earl of *Richmond* intended to land. There it was that he was to be joined by those who were gone thither already, to prepare all Things against the Earl's coming.

He takes up Arms.

Richard was not a little surprized to hear that the Duke was in such Readiness. However, as he had taken some Precautions to draw together his Forces in case of Need, he appointed their Rendezvous at *Leicester*, whither he repaired himself, with a Resolution to give his Enemies Battle, before their Numbers should be increased. He would have found it very difficult however to prevent them, if an extraordinary and very unexpected Accident had not hindered the Duke from joining his Friends, who were ready to rise in Arms in the Counties of *Devon* and *Cornwal*. The Duke was advancing by great Marches towards *Gloucester*, where he designed to pass the *Severn*. But just at that very time the River was swoln to that Degree, that the Country on both Sides was overflowed, and abundance of Damage done by the Waters. Never had such an Inundation been heard of in

He designs to go into Cornwall,

but can't pass the Severn.

1483. in that Country. It held six whole Days ; during which time the Duke's Army could neither pass the River, nor subsist on the other Side, where was nothing but Desolation *. In fine, the *Welsh* Soldiers tired with seeing themselves exposed to Hunger, Rains and a Thousand Hardships, returned to their Homes, notwithstanding all the Duke's Intreaties to the contrary. The Desertion was so general, that not a Soul stayed with the Duke except one single Servant. Reduced to this sad Condition, he saw no other Remedy but to go and conceal himself till he should be able to take new Measures. Unluckily for him he chose for his hiding Place the House of one *Banister* who had been his Servant, and to whom his Father and himself had been very kind.

His Army
disperses.

He hides
himself at
the House of
one of his
Domesticks.

Proclama-
tion against
the Conspi-
rators.
A&C. Pub.
XII. 204.

The King hearing of the Dispersion of the Duke of *Buckingham's* Troops, issued out a *Proclamation* against him and the Marquiss of *Dorset*, with some other of his Adherents, or whom he supposed to be in League with him. But as the Marquiss had not yet appeared in Arms, and so could not be stiled a Rebel, he made use of another Pretext to involve him in the Sentence. He sets forth that having taken an Oath at his Coronation to punish Vice and Wickedness, he was obliged to punish the Marquiss of *Dorset*, notorious for his Debaucheries, who had seduced and ravished several Virgins, been guilty of sundry Adulteries, and now publickly kept *Shore's* Wife. Then he promises a Reward of a Thousand Pound *Sterling*, or a Hundred Pound a Year to any Person that should bring the Duke to Justice ; Eight Hundred Pound, or Fourscore Pound a Year for the Marquiss, and so in proportion for the rest that were named in the *Proclamation*. The Villain *Banister*, not being able to resist so strong a Temptation, went and betrayed his Master

The Duke
of Buck-
ingham is
betrayed
and be-
headed.

* This Inundation was so remarkable, that for a Hundred Years after it was called *the Great Water*, or *Buckingham's Water*. It is said to last Ten Days, and that Men, Women and Children were carried away in their Beds with the Violence of it, and that the Tops of the Mountains were covered with the Waters.

Master to the Sheriff of Shropshire, who causing the House to be surrounded by a Company of armed Men, seized the Duke of Buckingham disguised in a Peasant's Dress, and conducted him to Shrewsbury. The Duke was very desirous to speak with the King: but he could never obtain that Favour. Some say, he intended to kill him with a Dagger which was found about him after his Death. But this is only Conjecture. Be that as it will, he was beheaded at Shrewsbury without any legal Process, by the King's bare Order. Thus this Lord, who had helped to take away the Lives of the Lord Hastings, of the Earl of Rivers, and of the other Prisoners at Pontefract by an arbitrary Sentence, perished himself in the same Manner, by the absolute Orders of him whom he had set on the Throne, contrary to all Right. On the other Side, we shall see presently that this very Conspiracy set on foot by the Duke of Buckingham, accessory to all the King's ill Actions, whilst he was but Protector, proved the Occasion of that Monarch's Ruin. Is it possible not to behold the Hand of Providence in such sort of Events?

Upon the first News of the Dispersion of the Welsh Army, the Duke's Friends, who expected him in the West, ready to take up Arms the Moment they should hear of his having passed the Severn, all shifted for themselves. Some lurked among their Friends, others fled to Sanctuary. But the greatest Part took shipping and sailed to the Earl of Richmond, plainly perceiving there was no Safety for them in the Kingdom. The Marquis of Dorset was of this Number. *The Conspirators dispersed.*

Whilst these Things passed in England, the Earl of Richmond imagining that all was well there, set Sail from St. Malo's the 21st of October with Five Thousand Men and Forty Ships, which the Duke of Bretagne had furnished him with. But the Fleet being dispersed by a Storm, some of the Ships were driven on the Coasts of France, others got back to Bretagne. The Ship the Earl of Richmond was on board having withstood the Seas better than the rest, arrived after the *The Earl of Richmond comes upon the Coast of Cornwall. He is like to be surprised, but escapes.*

1483. the Storm was over upon the Coast of *Cornwal*, where he saw the Shore crowded with Troops, who made him a Signal to land. But fortunately for him, he resolved not to go on Shore till his Fleet had joined him, hoping they would soon be at the Rendezvous. In the mean Time, he sent one to inquire whether the Troops he saw were Friends or Foes. The Commander answered, that he was posted there by the Duke of *Buckingham* to wait for the Earl of *Richmond*, and to favour his landing. But the Person sent by the Earl easily perceived the contrary, and informed his Master of it, who finding his Design was discovered, set Sail again, and arrived at a Port in *Normandy*. The Truth is, the Troops he saw on the Coast of *Cornwal* were the *Militia* of the County, whom *Richard* had posted there, with intent to deceive his Enemy by that Artifice.

*He retires
into Nor-
mandy.*

*He returns
to Bre-
tagne.*

*He persists
in his Reso-
lutions :*

*And swears
to marry
Elizabeth
of York.*

*Many En-
glish come
and join
him.*

The Earl of *Richmond* heard in *Normandy* of the Misfortune happened to the Duke of *Buckingham*. As after that there was no longer any likelihood of going on with his Enterprize without taking new Measures, he returned to *Bretagne*, where he found the Marquis of *Dorset*, with the rest that had made their Escapes out of *England*. Though his Designs seemed entirely blasted, yet he despaired not of better Success another Time. The Fugitives gave him to understand that *Richard* was extremely hated in *England*, which he took as a good Omen. On the other Hand, the Duke of *Bretagne* promised him to continue his Assistance. So having resolved to make a fresh Attempt, he took a solemn Oath on *Christmas-Day*, in the Cathedral of *Rennes*, that he would marry the Princess *Elizabeth* Daughter of *Edward IV*, or in case she died, *Cecilia* her younger Sister. Then all the *English* there present swore Allegiance to him, looking upon him as King of *England* by Right, if he was not yet so in Fact. From thenceforward the strict Inquiry that was made in *England* after those that had been concerned in the Conspiracy, forced great Numbers

bers to retire to *Bretagne*, insomuch that the Resort of the *English* thither was very great for some Time. 1483.

Mean while, *Richard* having got out of this Danger more happily than he had reason to expect, commanded several Persons to be apprehended, some of whom were immediately sacrificed to his Vengeance. Of this Number was Sir *Thomas St. Leger* his Brother-in-law, who had married *Ann* his Sister Widow of the Duke of *Exeter*. In order to make short Work, and avoid the usual Formalities of the Courts of Justice, he granted a Commission to Sir *Ralph Ashton* to exercise the Office of *Vice-Constable*, with so large a Power that he could condemn and execute upon the Spot all Persons whatever guilty or suspected of the Crime of *High-Treason*, without having regard to any Appeal*.

Richard puts several of the Conspirators to Death.

An extraordinary Commission to Ashton. Act. Pub. XII. 205.

By Virtue of this Commission *Ashton*, who was apparently a Man after the King's own Heart, came into the *Western* Counties, where he signalized his Zeal by bloody Executions of such as were found guilty, or only suspected of having favoured the Conspirators. In this Manner were spent the first six Months of the Reign of *Richard III.* This ambitious Prince was no sooner on the Throne, but he had Occasion to perceive with what Difficulty he was like to keep a Crown which he had been so eager after, and had procured by so many unlawful Practices.

In the Month of *January* 148 $\frac{1}{4}$, the King summoned his first Parliament. This he did at a very seasonable Juncture. The Duke of *Buckingham's* Conspiracy seeming to be entirely stifled by the Death of that Lord, and the Retreat of the Earl of *Richmond*, there was not a Man in the Kingdom that was able to lift up his Head. So the Parliament, consisting no doubt of *Representatives* devoted to the King, de-

1484. The Parliament meets,

* By this Commission, which is to be seen Vol. XII. p. 205. of *Rymer's Fœdera*, may be known the Office and Authority of the *High-Constable* of England.

1484.
Edward
IV's Issue
declared
Bastards,

clared *Edward the Fourth's* Issue Illegitimate *, and confirmed the irregular Election of *Richard*, together with his pretended Right to the Crown. This *Act* was absolutely necessary for the King's Security. Besides, the Parliament avoided by that means the Trouble of inquiring after the Fate of *Edward V*, whom all *England* had for some Months acknowledged for King.

The Earl of
Rich-
mond at-
tainted.

Then an *Act of Attainder* was passed against *Henry* Earl of *Richmond* and all his Adherents, by virtue whereof all their Estates were forfeited to the King. By this *Act*, which declared all Those *Rebels* and *Traitors* that had any hand in the Duke of *Buckingham's* and the Earl of *Richmond's* Conspiracy, all the late Executions were in some Measure justified, because such as had suffered were looked upon as guilty of the Crime condemned by this *Bill*. By good Luck none of them discovered that the Countess of *Richmond* was concerned in the Plot, whether it was that she had trusted but few Persons, or that her Confidants had escaped to *Bretagne*. However *Richard* thinking it hardly possible that the Earl of *Richmond* should have formed such an Undertaking without his Mother's Knowledge, ordered the Lord *Stanley* her Husband to keep her close confined, to prevent her from attempting any Thing for the future. He had then a perfect Confidence in the Lord *Stanley*, whom he had just made *High-Constable* after *Ashton*, in quality of *Vice-Constable*, had been instrumental to his Designs. Apparently he did not think the Lord *Stanley* a proper Person to exercise the Severities which he had given *Ashton* Commission to execute, and no doubt that was the Reason why he did not make him *High-Constable*

The Coun-
tess of
Rich-
mond is
not disco-
vered.

The Lord
Stanley
made
High-
Constable.
Dec. 16.
p. 209.

* Though Mr. *Ropin* before in the Reign of *Edward V* says, that *Comines* was mistaken in saying that this Marriage of *Edward IV*, with *Eleanor Talbot* or *Butler*, (Daughter of the Earl of *Shrewsbury*, and Relict of the Lord *Butler* of *Sudeley*,) was objected to prove the Illegitimacy of his Children. Yet we find it was urged in this *Bill* without any mention at all of his Pre-contract with *Elizabeth* Lady See *Cotton's Abridgement*, p. 209, &c.

Constable till every Thing relating to that Commission was finished. 1484.

Richard had Ground to believe that after his vigorous Proceedings against the Parties concerned, the Conspiracy was entirely crushed *. But *Thomas Hut-* The King receives fresh Ad- vices of the Conspiracy, *ton*, who was returned from his Ambassy to *Bretagne*, let him know that the same Plot was still on Foot, and that the Duke of *Bretagne* had promised the Earl of *Richmond* the continuance of his Assistance. He gave him the Names of such of the Conspirators as were with the Earl, and informed him that they had frequent Conferences together, and were very busy. It was easy to conclude from thence, that the Earl of *Richmond* had not lost all Hopes, and that he had still in *England* some Friends on whom he relied for the Accomplishment of his Designs. And yet, since the Death of the Duke of *Buckingham*, the Flight of the Marquis of *Dorset*, and the Execution of several of their Party, *Richard* saw no Body in the Kingdom which seemed to be in a Condition to make Head against him. So concluding that the Danger must come from Abroad, he resolved to take all possible Precautions to hinder his Enemies from meeting with any Aid from Foreign Princes. He tries to prevent the Danger.

Last Year he had confirmed the Alliance of *England* with *Castile*, and in *June* this Year he did the same Thing with regard to *Portugal*. In Appearance, the whole Storm was like to come from those two Quarters, since the King of *Portugal* and the Queen of *Castile* were both descended from *Philippa* and *Catharine*, Daughters of *John of Gant* Duke of He secures Castile and Portugal, Act. Pub. XII. 228,

* He ordered *Sir William Collingburn* of *Lydiard* in *Wiltshire* to be hanged, drawn and quartered, for aiding the Earl of *Richmond*, and writing a Satyrical *Dyſtick* upon him and his Favourites, *Viscount Lovel*, *Sir Richard Ratcliffe*, and *Sir William Catesby*.

The Cat, the Rat, and Lovel the Dog,
Rule all *England* under a Hog.

Alluding to *Lovel's* Arms, and to one of *Richard's* Supporters, being a Wild-Boar.

1484. *Lancaster*, and consequently they might have pretended to the Crown of *England*. Mean while the *French* wherewith they had renewed their Alliance with *England*, suffered not the King to suspect them of having any such Thoughts.

and the
Archduke
Maximili-
an.

p. 231,
246.

Maximilian Archduke of *Austria*, who governed the *Low-Countries* in the Name of *Philip* his Son, being Son of *Leonora* of *Portugal*, Grand-Daughter of *Philippa* of *Lancaster*, might have likewise laid Claim to the Crown of *England*, or abetted the Earl of *Richmond*. Which Consideration made *Richard* resolve to send Ambassadors to him, under Colour of renewing the Truce of Commerce between *England* and the *Low-Countries*. But in all Appearance, the Ambassadors had Instructions to sound whether there was any Project going forward at that Court with respect to *England*.

He sends
Ambassa-
dors to
France.
p. 221.

Though it did not seem that *Richard* had any reason to Fear any Thing from *France*, under a *Minority* disturbed with intestine Divisions, he had taken care however to send Ambassadors to *Charles VII*, to get the Truce prolonged or at least confirmed.

And tries to
win the
Duke of
Bretagne.

There remained only *Bretagne* and *Scotland* that could give him any Uneasiness. He could not question but that the Duke of *Bretagne* had already assisted the Earl of *Richmond*, and was still inclined to do so. For which Reason he thought no Stone should be left unturned to win that Prince to his Side.

Affairs of
Bretagne.

Francis II Duke of *Bretagne* being grown old and infirm, suffered himself to be wholly guided by *Peter Landais* his Treasurer, and committed to him the sole Management of his Affairs. This Favourite, who was the Son of a Taylor, carried Matters so insolently that he drew upon himself the Hatred of all the *Bretons*. This very Year 1484, it happened that the Great Men having combined together against him, would have seized him in the very Palace, but missing their Aim, they saw themselves exposed to the Favourite's Vengeance, who caused them to be declared guilty of High-Treason. But as the whole
Country

Country was against him, he believed it best to support himself by some foreign Aid. To that End he sent in his Master's Name Ambassadors to *Richard*, on Pretence to make a Truce with him, which was accordingly concluded in *June* at *Pontfract* where the King then was, and which was to last till the 24th of *April* following.

1484.

Richard's
Truce with
Bretagne.

But this was not all the Ambassadors from *Bretagne* were commissioned to do. There are two Records in the *Collection of the Publick Acts*, whereby it appears that *Richard* had promised to send the Duke of *Bretagne* an Aid of a Thousand Archers. Now this could be upon no other Account than what I have just mentioned, since the Duke of *Bretagne* had then no other War upon his Hands. As the Duke did nothing of himself, it is very likely that in order to obtain these Succours, *Landais* had put him in hopes that he would deliver up the Earl of *Richmond*. And indeed what followed plainly made appear that he had promised some such Thing. Thus *Richard* thought himself so secure from the Side of *Bretagne*, that instead of being apprehensive that the Duke would assist the Earl of *Richmond*, he flattered himself with the Prospect of having very soon his Enemy in his Power.

Secret Ne-
gotiations
between
Richard
and the
Duke, or
Landais
his Favouri-
te.

As he might also be afraid that the King of *Scotland*, who was descended from a Princess of the *House of Somerset*, would countenance the Male-Contents, as being concerned to place the Earl of *Richmond* on the Throne of *England*, he believed he ought to secure himself on that Side likewise. To that End he negotiated with *James IV* a Truce, which was concluded in *September* this Year, and was to last till the 29th of the same Month 1487. At the same Time he agreed upon the Marriage of his Niece *Ann de la Pole*, Daughter of his Sister *Elizabeth* and the Duke of *Suffolk*, with the Duke of *Rothsay*, eldest Son of the King of *Scotland*.

Truce with
Scotland.
P. 232—
244.

All these Precautions appeared so just, that he seemed to be screened from all Danger. But however, to strip the Earl of *Richmond* of all hopes of accomplish-

Death of
the Prince
of Wales.

1484.
Earl of
Lincoln
declared
Heir to the
Crown.

completing his Designs, the Prince of *Wales* his Son dying in *April* this Year, he declared his Nephew the Earl of *Lincoln* his Heir Apparent, purposing to get his Declaration ratified by the Parliament. The Earl of *Lincoln* was Son of *Elizabeth* his Sister, and Brother of *Ann*, who was to marry the Prince of *Scotland*.

Embassy of
Obedience
to the Pope.
P. 253.

Moreover, not to neglect any Thing that might give his Enemies an Advantage, he sent an Ambassador with a Promise of Obedience to Pope *Innocent VIII*, who was just elected to the *Papal* Throne. He had omitted this Compliment to *Sixtus IV*, *Innocent's* Predecessor, as appears in the *Collection of the Publick Acts*. But the Fear he was under of incensing the Pope, and affording a Handle to the Male-Contents in the Kingdom, and particularly the *Clergy*, made him dispatch his Ambassadors to *Rome*.

Embassy
from
France.
P. 234.

Shortly after he had the Satisfaction to see that *Charles VIII* King of *France* demanded of him a *Safe-Conduet* for Ambassadors he intended to send to him. Thus every Thing seemed to look with a good Aspect. Mean while the Earl of *Richmond* was still full of Hopes, and as long as that Prince was out of his Power, he could not think himself thoroughly fixed in the Throne. That was the chief, or rather the sole Cause of all his Trouble and Care.

Richard
treats with
Landais
about de-
livering up
the Earl of
Rich-
mond.

The Truce with *Bretagne* not being to last but till the 24th of *April* 1425, *Richard* took Occasion from thence to send Ambassadors to the Duke of *Bretagne* to get it prolonged. That was the pretended Reason of the Embassy. But the Ambassadors had Instructions to treat about another Affair of greater Moment, with *Landais* Prime Minister and absolute Master of the Duke, who was fallen into a kind of Lethargy, which rendered him unfit for publick Affairs. And that was to perswade that Minister to deliver up the Earl of *Richmond*.

Landais had not wanted the Thousand Archers mentioned above. It was therefore necessary, in order to obtain what the King desired, to make a new Treaty, which

which might turn so much to the Duke's and the Favourite's Advantage, as to cause them to overlook all the Scruples they might have upon that Score. As to the Duke, *Argentré* affirms, that he saw among the Records of *Bretagne*, *Richard the Third's Letters Patent*, whereby he gave to the Duke the Earldom of *Richmond* with all its Appurtenances, in the same Manner as his Ancestors had enjoyed it, upon Condition only that it should return to the Crown in Case the Duke died without Issue. With respect to *Landais*, as Matters were transacted more privately, it is not so well known what his Reward was to be for the Service he intended to do. Thus much is certain, *Richard* made him very advantageous Offers. But as he was a Man not to be satisfied with bare Promises, there was occasion to send Expresses to the King. These Delays, which, as *Argentré* positively affirms, were upon the Minister's Account, proved the Earl of *Richmond's* Security. Though he was then in *Bretagne*, he was entirely ignorant of what passed at the Duke's Court. But the Bishop of *Ely*, who though absent had good Spies about *Richard*, being informed that the Bishop of *Leon* Ambassador of *Bretagne* was treating very privately with the King, warned the Earl of *Richmond* that he was not safe in the Duke of *Bretagne's* Dominions. This Notice coming from so good a Hand, put the Earl upon seriously thinking how to get out of the impending Danger. As he knew *Landais* to be a Person capable of committing the basest Actions *, he resolved to retire into *France*, and to that Purpose he went privately to King *Charles* for a *Pass-Port*, which was readily granted him. Meanwhile, informed as he was of *Landais's* ill Designs upon him, he did not question but he had ordered him to be narrowly watched. And therefore, it was no easy Matter to make his Escape, especially as he was surrounded with abundance of *English*, whom it was very

The Bishop of Ely warns the Earl of Richmond of his Danger.

The Earl resolves to make his Escape.

The Difficulty of the Thing.

* And yet this is the same Person that before pleaded so heartily against delivering the Earl of *Richmond* to *Edward IV.*

1484.

He escapes
luckily, and
arrives at
Angiers.

The Duke
of Bretagne
sends him
offers of
Service.

very hard to conceal the Secret from, and very dangerous to reveal it to. To remedy this Inconvenience, the Duke of *Bretagne* being at that time recovered of his Illness, the Earl took Occasion to send the principal Lords of his Retinue, to congratulate him upon it, ordering them to take along with them all their Servants under colour to do him the more Honour. His Aim was not only to be more alone at *Vannes*, but chiefly to remove from his Keepers all Suspicion of his desiring to escape, whilst he had so many Hostages at the Duke's Court. Accordingly, this Artifice succeeded to his Wish, so that two Days after he departed from *Vannes* in Disguise, attended by five Persons only. As soon as he was out of the Town, he left the great Road, and riding cross the Fields and through By-ways, without stopping any where, safely arrived at *Angiers* Capital of *Anjou*. This Speed was absolutely necessary; for otherwise he would have been infallibly taken. They whose Business it was to watch him, hearing of his Escape, pursued him so closely, that they came upon the Borders of *Bretagne* but one Hour after him. In a few Days the Duke being informed that the Earl was gone off, under an Apprehension of some ill Treatment, seemed very angry with *Landais* for giving him any Cause to fear, not knowing without doubt what his Favourite was negotiating with the King of *England*. Then he gave all the *English* in his Dominions leave to go to the Earl with Offers of Service. The Earl of *Richmond* received his kind Offers in the most grateful Manner, and desired the Duke's Messengers to tell him that he would have all his Favours in everlasting Remembrance. Thus the Earl of *Richmond* escaped, as it were miraculously out of the Snares *Richard* had laid for him. This was the second time he had luckily got off. The *English* belonging to his Retinue, thought themselves no less happy than he, to see themselves by the Duke's Generosity out of the Clutches of his base Minister, who not long after attoned on a Gibbet for

for all the ill Actions his Avarice had prompted him to commit.

1484.

The Earl of *Richmond* making but a short Stay at *Angiers*, went to *Charles VIII.* who was then at *Lan- gais*, and who received him very civilly. But howe- ver, as the Court of *France* was not yet free from Troubles, it was no favourable Juncture for the Earl to procure the Assistance he could no longer expect from the Duke of *Bretagne*. Nevertheless, as the young King seemed to stand well inclined to him, he despaired not to obtain some Aid of that Prince, when the Disturbances at his Court should be over.

Charles VIII. re- ceives him honourably.

Whilst his Affairs were in this State of Uncertainty, he saw the Earl of *Oxford* arrive, whom King *Edward IV.* had confined in the Castle of *Hammes* in *Picardy*. *Oxford*, who had been one of the chief Sticklers for the House of *Lancaster*, having heard in Prison that the Earl of *Richmond* laid claim to the Crown, had wrought so effectually upon the Governor of *Hammes*, that he had persuaded him to set him at Liberty and to declare for the Earl.. He brought him along with him to wait upon that Prince and offer him his Service. The having the Earl of *Oxford* on his Side turned greatly to the Earl of *Richmond's* Advantage in *Eng- land*. Several other Lords privately sent him word that he might depend upon their Assistance, when they should see it proper to declare against *Richard*.

The Earl of Oxford escapes out of Hammes and goes to the Earl of Richmond.

Mean while, the King had daily Notice that some- thing was contriving against him in favour of the Earl of *Richmond*; but he could not discover the Authors of the Plot what Spies soever he employed. Besides, he knew no *English* Lord powerful enough as he thought to form or execute an Enterprize of that Na- ture. The Lord *Stanley* was the only Person he could mistrust, because he was Husband to the Countess of *Richmond*. That alone rendered him suspected, though otherwise he had no Proof against him. So, to secure himself from that Side, *Stanley* having asked him leave to go to his own Estate, he required him to leave his Son at Court as a sort of Hostage. The Truth is, his

Richard obliges the Lord Stan- ley to leave his Son in Hostage.

1484.

Suspensions were but too well-grounded, since that very Lord proved afterwards the main Instrument of his Destruction.

He discovers the Project of the Marriage of the Earl of Richmond with Elizabeth.

Richard knew very well he was not beloved in *England*. On the other Hand, he heard that there was something working in the People's Heads, which, though kept secret, could not but be dangerous. However, he was not able to prevent the Mischief he dreaded, without he knew what his Enemies Contrivances were, and who were the principal Authors. Upon this therefore he laid out all his Pains. At length, by planting Spies in the Country, he came to find that the Projects in favour of the Earl of *Richmond* were founded upon his Promise to marry the Princess *Elizabeth*, eldest Daughter of *Edward IV.* This Discovery made him perceive that the *Yorkists* were not far from being Friends with the *Lancastrians*, since they consented to the Match. It was manifest that such an Agreement could not but bring on his Ruin, since in that case he would have none to rely on but a few Friends of his *House*, all the rest declaring for his Brother's Family. Finding therefore that the Plot which was hatching against him was built upon a more solid Foundation than he had imagined, he applied himself wholly to break the Earl of *Richmond's* Measures by preventing this fatal Marriage. He hit upon no better way to come to his Ends, than to marry himself the Princess designed for his Enemy. But the Execution of such a Project was clogged with several Difficulties, which to a Prince less scrupulous than himself would have appeared insuperable. The first was that he had a Wife already, whose Constitution afforded no Signs that she would quickly end her Days. But however, he despaired not to get over that Obstacle, either by way of Divorce or some other less lawful Means. The second Difficulty was to get *Elizabeth* out of the Sanctuary at *Westminster*, where she was with the Queen her Mother. Besides, it was no easy Task to persuade the Queen Dowager to give her Daughter to the Murderer of her Sons. Lastly, he

He resolves to marry his Niece.

must

must procure the Pope's Dispensation to marry his Niece. But this Obstacle seemed a mere Trifle in Comparison of the others, well knowing that it was not impracticable to adjust that Affair with the Court of *Rome*.

To enter upon the Execution of this strange Project, he sent several Persons to the Queen Dowager to insinuate to her, that he was very desirous to live in Friendship with her, and to show her Marks of his good Will: That he confessed he had dealt too roughly with her, but to repair in some measure the Injury he had done her, he intended to assign her an honourable Pension, and to give her two Brothers such Posts as they should have reason to be satisfied. Moreover, that he would take care of her Daughters, and help them to Matches suitable to their Quality. But as the Queen would hardly be induced to give Credit to his fair Promises, after having been so barbarously deceived, the Persons he employed hinted to her, that this Alteration proceeded from the Death of the Prince of *Wales*. That the King being now childless, and without Prospect of having any Issue, his Interests were no longer distinct from those of his Brother's Family, and therefore he could do nothing more beneficial to himself and his *House* than to marry his Neices into the most considerable Families in *England*. In fine, they told her that the King's Design was to order Matters so, that after his Death the Princess *Elizabeth* should ascend the Throne, what he had done in Favour of the Earl of *Lincoln* his Nephew being easily recoverable, since it had not yet passed into an *Act* of Parliament.

He gets the
Queen
Dowager to
give up her
Daughters.

These last Insinuations made deep Impression in the Queen's Mind. Her Interest made her imagine what they said very probable. On the other Hand, she was heartily tired of her *Sanctuary* which was properly a Prison, from whence she could not stir without being liable to greater Mischiefs. She had an extreme Love for her Brothers, as she had plainly shown in the Life-time of the King her Husband, and the Hopes *Richard* gave her with respect to them were very grate-

1484.

ful to her. In fine, she considered that the Plot in favour of the Earl of *Richmond* having miscarried by the Death of the Duke of *Buckingham*, she and her Daughters must expect to fare even worse than they had done hitherto, if by her Denial she should incense the King yet more against her. These Considerations causing her to forget the grievous Outrages she had received from that Prince, she was so blind and indiscreet as to put her five Daughters into his Hands. Moreover, she wrote to the Marquis of *Dorset* her Brother to advise him to relinquish the Earl of *Richmond*, and come and throw himself into the Arms of the King. The Marquis as inconsiderate, and no less ambitious than the Queen his Sister, flattering himself with the Prospect of Honours and Preferment, privately withdrew from *Paris* with design to pass over into *England*. But the Earl of *Richmond* caused him to be pursued with so much Speed, that he had him brought back to *Paris*, where by strong Reasons he persuaded him to stay with him.

Death of
Richard's
Queen.

As soon as *Richard* had his Niece in his Power, he thought of means to execute another Part of his Project: And that was to get rid of his Queen that he might marry his Niece. Those Historians that speak the most favourably of his Conduct in this Matter, say, that he made the Queen die with Grief and Vexation, by showing an Aversion to her which she did not deserve, and by grievously mortifying her every Day. Others speak plainer, and affirm, that he hastned her Death by Poison. Some add, that he privately acquainted the Archbishop of *York* with certain secret Infirmities of the Queen which rendered her very disagreeable to him. This he did on purpose that the Archbishop might tell her of it again, and that it might be a Means to make her take on so as to kill her with Grief. It is said further, that the Archbishop after hearing the King's Discourse, told some body that the Queen had not long to live. And indeed she died very soon after. Her Fate would have been more worthy of Pity, if her Death had not been observed to

be

be a manifest Judgment upon her, for having married the Murderer of the Prince of *Wales* her first Husband Son of *Henry VI.* *Richard* showed an extraordinary Sorrow at his Loss, and made a pompous Funeral for his deceased Queen. But this feigned Grief was not capable of undeceiving the People, who openly charged him with murdering his Queen as he had done his Nephews *.

Notwithstanding the extreme Sorrow he expressed in Publick, the Queen was no sooner laid in her Grave, but he had the Assurance to make his Addresses to the Princess *Elizabeth* and offer her Marriage. But she gave him such an Answer as let him see how much she abhorred such an Union, and desired him never to speak of it any more *. *Richard* being very sensible that it was no proper Season to use Violence, was satisfied for that time with having made known his Suit, till a fairer Opportunity should present to press the Execution of his Project. Mean while, as he became every Day more odious, many Lords and Gentlemen went over and offered their Service to the Earl of *Richmond*. Others took the same Course with a View to avoid the Prosecutions of that bloody Prince, in case they should have the ill Luck to be suspected by him. Those that stay'd in the Kingdom were no better affected, and waited only a favourable Opportunity to declare against him.

The Princess Elizabeth refuses to marry the King her Uncle.

Several Lords go over to the Earl of Richmond.

Richard hearing that the Earl of *Oxford* and the Governor of *Hamme*s were gone to the Earl of *Richmond*, sent Orders to the Governor of *Calais* to be-
siege

Siege and taking of Hamme.

* *Buck* will have it, that her great Grief at the Death of the Prince of *Wales* her only Son, threw her into a Consumption which carried her off in a very little Time.

* *Buck* says, that there is an original Letter under *Elizabeth's* own Hand in the Cabinet of the Earl of *Arandel* and *Surrey*, written to the Duke of *Norfolk*, wherein she desires him to be a Mediator for her Marriage with the King, who, (she said) was her only Joy and Maker in this World, and that she was his in Heart and Thought, withal insinuating that the best Part of *February* was past, and that she feared the Queen would never die.

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siege that Castle and reduce it to his Obedience. His Orders were executed with so much speed, that the Earl of *Oxford* who was marching to relieve the Place, could not arrive till after the Capitulation. However he got this Advantage by it, that he brought away the Garrison to the Earl of *Richmond*.

1485.
Richard
lays up his
Fleet.

After the Earl of *Richmond's* Attempt, *Richard* had fitted out a Squadron of Ships to oppose his Passage in case he should think of making another Descent. But in the Beginning of the Year 1485, the Truce with *Bretagne* being prolonged for seven Years, and *France* showing no great Forwardness to assist his Enemy, he believed he might save the Charge of a Fleet which he considered now as useless. Accordingly the Ships were unrigged and laid up in the Spring.

The Court
of France
resolves to
aid the Earl
of Rich-
mond.

This Proceeding having very much encouraged the Earl of *Richmond*, he earnestly solicited the Court of *France* for Aid, King *Charles's* Ministers having at length seriously taken his Request into Consideration, believed it could not but be advantagious to *France*, to keep alive the Troubles in *England*. It was solely with this View that they promised the Earl an Aid of two Thousand Men, with Ships to transport them, and likewise a Sum of Money. *Philip de Comines* says, he never saw such sorry Troops as those that were appointed for this Expedition. The which is a clear Evidence enough with what Intent the Court of *France* granted the Earl these pitiful Succours. What is more, he was obliged to leave Hostages in *France* for the Security of reimbursing the Charges the Court was at upon his Score. The Earl having some Grounds to mistrust the Marquis of *Dorset*, embraced this Opportunity to leave him in Hostage at *Paris*, with Sir *Thomas Bourcher*. Then he came to *Roan*, where the Troops were ordered to assemble.

The Earl
go's to
Roan.

He designs
to marry
Sir Walter
Herbert's
Daughter.

Upon his Arrival at *Roan*, he received a very unwelcome Piece of News. He was informed of the Queen's Death, and of *Richard's* Design to marry the Princess *Elizabeth* his Niece, and to give *Cecilia* her
younger

younger Sister to one of his Favourites. His Measures being broken by this Marriage which was represented to him as upon the Point of being consummated, he consulted upon this Occasion with the Lords that attended him. The Result of their Opinions was, that since he could have no Prospect to marry one of *Edward the Fourth's* Daughters which were marriagable, he ought to cast his Eyes upon some other. To that Purpose, they advised him to gain over to his Interest Sir *Walter Herbert*, a Person of very great Authority in *Wales*, by offering to espouse his younger Sister, the eldest being already married to the Earl of *Northumberland*. This Resolution being taken, he dispatched an Express to Sir *Walter Herbert* to propose the Matter to him. By good luck, the Messenger found the Roads so narrowly watched, that he durst not venture to pursue his Journey to *Herbert*. It is very evident, that if this Business had succeeded according to the Earl of *Richmond's* Wish, it would have lost him all the Friends of *Edward the Fourth's* Family who were very numerous. The Truth is, they had sided with him purely from the Prospect that he would unite the two *Houses* of *York* and *Lancaster* by his Marriage with the Princess *Elizabeth*.

His Measures are broken.

Not many Days after he received Letters from *England*, acquainting him, that if he would make haste and land in *Wales*, he could not have a more favourable Opportunity. That all the Nobility of the Country were for him. That he would find the People ready to take up Arms in his Favour, and a good Sum of Money in Stock which had been privately gathered to supply his Occasions. That in the rest of the Kingdom every Body was displeased with the King, who daily rendered himself more odious. In fine, that the present Juncture was the more favourable, as it did not appear that *Richard* imagined him so ready to set out, seeing there were no extraordinary Preparations going forward.

He is invited into England.

This

1484.
He lands at
Milford-
Haven,

This good News obliged the Earl to hasten his Departure, without staying for Sir *Walter Herbert's* Answer. So coming to *Harfleur* where his Ships waited for him, he embarked his Troops and set Sail the last Day of *July*. He arrived on the sixth of *August* at *Milford-Haven* * in *South-Wales*, and next Day he came to *Haverford* *¹ where he was joyfully received by the Inhabitants.

and
marches to
pass the
Severn
at *Shrews-*
bury.

From thence it was that he sent an Express to the Countess his Mother to inform her of his Arrival, and the Design he had to march towards *London*, desiring her to get all his Friends together, that they might come and join him upon the Road with as many Troops as possible. He had a long Way to march, since having no Town upon the *Severn* at his Command, he was under a Necessity to go almost quite through *Wales* to get to *Shrewsbury* towards the Head of that River, where he had been made to hope he should be received. So making but a short stay at *Haverford*, he began his march to *North-Wales* in order to reach *Shrewsbury* before the King should be ready to dispute his Passage.

The King
orders Her-
bert to op-
pose the
Earl's
March.

Richard having Intelligence that the Earl of *Richmond* was landed at *Milford-Haven* with so few Troops, did not imagine he would be able to make any great Progress. However he sent Orders to Sir *Walter Herbert*, to raise the *Militia* of the County, thinking that *Herbert* might easily stop him till he should himself be in a readiness to march. But *Herbert* having been privately won by the Earls Friends, let him pass unmolested without offering to give him the least Disturbance.

The Earl is
joined by
Sir *Rice ap*
Thomas

Some Days after Sir *Rice ap Thomas*, a Man of great Power in *Wales*, met the Earl upon his Rout and proffered his Service, which was accepted with Joy. He

* One of the most spacious and secure Ports in *Europe*; it contains 16 Creeks, 5 Bays, and 13 Roads, distinguished by their several Names.

*¹ Called now *Harford-West*. It is a County of it self, and is governed by a Mayor, a Sheriff, and two Bailiffs.

He had with him a good Body of *Welshmen*. It is not at all strange that all *Wales* should declare for the Earl, since he was of *Welsh* Extraction, and of one of the antientest Families of the Country.

1485.

The Earl of *Richmond's* Army being very much increased by the coming in of Sir *Rice ap Thomas*, and several *Welsh* Gentlemen, and the whole Country supplying him in his March with all Necessaries, he arrived in a few Days at *Shrewsbury*, where he was received without Opposition.

He is received as
Shrewsbury.

It was not without Reason that the King had suspected the Lord *Stanley* of being a secret Friend to his Son-in-law. *Stanley* had indeed sent the Earl of *Richmond* Word, that he would abet him to the utmost of his Power. But as he had been forced to leave his Son in Hostage with the King, he could not openly espouse his Cause without endangering his Son's Life. For which Reason he pretended to take the King's Part, and having levied about five Thousand Men, he went and posted himself at *Lichfield*, as if he had intended to oppose the Earl of *Richmond's* March. On the other Hand, *William Strange* * his Brother drew together likewise a Body of two Thousand Men, giving out that it was with the same View.

The Lord Stanley
and his Brother raise
Forces as if
it was for
the King.

The King being then at *Nottingham*, where upon the first News of his Enemies landing he had given Orders to draw his Forces together. He had at first considered the Earl of *Richmond's* Attempt as a sort of *Bravado*, which he hoped to make him soon repent of. But when he heard that Sir *Walter Herbert* had suffered him to pass without Opposition, that Sir *Rice ap Thomas* had joined him, that all *Wales* had sided with him, and that he was marching on towards *Shrewsbury*, he resolved to go in Person and give him Battle before he should make greater Progress, and his Army be reinforced. He wisely judged that if upon this Occasion he should show the least Faint-heartedness, the whole Kingdom would certainly de-

The King determine
to fight
Richmond.

* Sir *William Stanley*.

1485. clare against him. On the contrary, his Courage and Resolution were capable of keeping in Awe such as were inclined to side with the Enemy. Mean while he had every Day the Vexation to hear that his Officers and Soldiers deserted to the Earl. He was still in hopes that the Lord *Stanley* and his Brother would come and join him with their Troops, though the little Correspondence they kept with him, gave him but too much Reason to suspect them of Treachery. Be that as it will, having received certain Advice, that the Earl of *Richmond* intended to march towards *London*, he resolved to go and expect him upon his Rout between *Leicester* and *Coventry*, in order to put a speedy End to their Quarrel by a Battle.

Desertion
in his Ar-
my.
He mis-
trusts *Stan-*
ley.

The Earl
advances to
Lichfield.

Though the Earl of *Richmond's* Army was not strong, he was no less desirous to come to an Engagement, because he expected that the Lord *Stanley* and his Brother would not fail him in Case of need. With these Hopes he advanced towards *Lichfield*, from whence, upon his Approach the Lord *Stanley* retired to *Atherston*. Whilst his Army was upon the march, he came privately to *Stafford*, where he had a Conference with *William Strange*, in which they concerted the Measures, the Effects whereof we shall see presently.

A danger-
ous Adven-
ture hap-
pens to the
Earl in his
March.

The Earl being come to *Lichfield*, heard that the King was at *Leicester*. Whereupon finding he could not possibly go on towards *London* without fighting, he resolved to march directly to his Enemy. Whilst he was on the Road to *Tamworth*, he happened to lag behind his Company, and being in a deep Muse upon his Affairs, he mistook his Way, and lost the Track of his Army. He roved about till Night, not daring to ask the Way to *Tamworth* for fear of lighting upon one of *Richard's* Party. At last, not having been able to hit the Road, he was fain to pass the Night at a Village, without knowing where he was, or daring to enquire. However next Morning he found Means to get to *Tamworth*, where his Army was in great Pain for him, not knowing what was become

1485.

become of him. To excuse such a Blunder which must needs have done him a great Injury had it been known, he pretended that he had been to confer in private with some Persons who did not care to appear openly. That very Day he went with a few Attendants to *Atherston*, where he had a long Conference with the Lord *Stanley*. On the Morrow having heard that *Richard* was gone from *Leicester* to meet him, he moved forward himself to save him some Part of the Way. The two Armies met at *Bosworth*, so near one another, that there would have been no avoiding a Battle, supposing either of the two Leaders had desired it. But they were both very far from any such Thoughts. The 22d of *August* was the Day famous for the Battle which decided the Quarrel of the two contending Houses.

The two
Armies
meet at
Bosworth;

Richard perceiving his Enemy to advance, drew up his Army about twelve or thirteen Thousand strong in order of Battle. He gave the Command of the Vanguard to the Duke of *Norfolk*, and led the main Body himself, with the Crown on his Head, either to be the better known, or to put his Troops in mind they were fighting for their King. The Earl of *Richmond* who had not above five Thousand Men, drew up his Army likewise in two Lines, of which the Earl of *Oxford* commanded the first, and he himself the second. An Historian has recited the Speeches which the two Leaders made to their Soldiers before the Fight. But as it is not very certain that they were really spoken, and besides as they contain nothing very particular, I shall pass them over in Silence.

and draw
up.

Whilst the two Armies were preparing for Battle, the Lord *Stanley* who till then had continued at *Atherston*, came and posted himself with his Troops over against the Space, between the two Armies, and his Brother who was come from *Stafford* took his Station on the other Side, opposite to him. *Richard* had been hitherto in doubt whether the Lord *Stanley* was for or against him, because he had not yet done any Thing openly in Favour of the Earl of *Richmond*.

Conduct of
Stanley and his Brother.

1485.

Stanley refuses to obey the King's Orders. The King orders his Son to be put to Death, but is dissuaded from it.

Overfight of the King.

But when he saw him posted in that Manner, it was no hard Matter to perceive that he did not stand there to assist him, since he had not given him the least notice of his Design. Mean while, having a mind to know for certain what he had to fear or hope, he sent him Orders to come and join his Army. *Stanley* made Answer, that he would come when he saw it convenient. This Answer not having satisfied the King, he commanded his Son to be put to Death upon the Spot. But his General Officers represented to him, that although the Lord *Stanley's* Behaviour was very doubtful, and even gave Ground to suspect him, he had not yet however declared for the Earl of *Richmond*: That it was not unlikely, that he was meditating some great Act in favour of his Sovereign, or perhaps he intended to stand neuter during the Fight in order to join the Conqueror. That in both these Cases, it would be better to put off examining his Conduct till after the Event, than to provoke him by putting his Son to Death, to give the Earl of *Richmond* an Assistance capable of making the Victory incline to his Side: That in the main, the Death of the young Lord *Strange*, in the Circumstances the King was in, could serve him in no stead. These Arguments seemed to the King of weight enough to cause him to revoke his Orders. But he was guilty of an unpardonable Blunder, in remaining doubtful as to the two Brothers, who plainly enough gave him to know their Design. As his Army was still superior to those of the Earl of *Richmond* and the two Brothers together, his Business was to oppose to the *Stanley's* two Bodies equal to theirs, with Orders to fall upon them the Moment they should offer to stir. By that means he would have debarred them of the Advantage of taking their Time to declare themselves as they did afterwards. Such an Oversight in so able a Prince as *Richard*, cannot be looked upon but as proceeding from the particular Direction of the Providence of God, who had determined his Destruction.

The two Armies approaching one another, the Battle began with a Shower of Arrows shot from both Sides ; after which the Royal Army moved forwards to come to a closer Fight. The Lord *Stanley*, who till then had been a Spectator only, perceiving that the Duke of *Norfolk* widened his *Line* to the Left, in order to surround the Earl of *Richmond's* Troops, gave him not Time to execute his Design. On a sudden, he went and posted himself on the Right of the Earl's first *Line*, to receive the Front of the King's first *Line*. This Motion having caused the Duke of *Norfolk* to halt, that he might close again his *Line*, which was widened too much towards the Left, the Fight was discontinued for some Moments. But presently after, the Odds not being so great, by means of the Lord *Stanley's* joining the Earl, they fought on both Sides with extreme Ardour.

Mean while *Richard* being impatient to know how Matters stood with the first *Line*, spurred his Horse towards the Place where they were fighting. At the same Time the Earl of *Richmond* having quitted his second *Line*, where he had taken his Post, was advanced as far as the foremost Ranks of his first, to encourage his Troops by his Presence, being very sensible that the Battle of the two first *Lines* would go near to decide the Fortune of the Day. *Richard* having spied him, instantly rode up to attack him. He slew Sir *William Brandon* the Earl's Standard-Bearer, who had interposed in his Way. Sir *John Cheney* having taken *Brandon's* Place, in order to oppose the furious Efforts of the King, was overthrown to the Ground. The Earl of *Richmond* avoided not the Fight. But if we may judge of the Matter by what Historians say of it, he showed no great Eagerness to join his Enemy, contented himself with standing in a Posture of Defence, and very willingly suffered his People to come between them to hinder them from too closely engaging.

1485.
William
Strange
flanks the
King's
Troops, who
are put to
rout.

At the very Time that *Richard* was endeavouring to come at the Earl of *Richmond*, that he might decide with one Blow their important Quarrel, it was decided very much to his Disadvantage from another Quarter. *William Strange* following the Example of the Lord *Stanley* his Brother, and seeing that the Left of the Earl of *Richmond*'s first *Line* began to give Ground a little, openly declared against the King by falling upon his Troops in the Flank, whilst they were taken up with fighting their Enemies in the Front, and furiously driving them back. This Onset made so seasonably and at so critical a Minute, having caused an extreme Disorder in the Right of the King's first *Line*, they were seen suddenly to retreat towards the main Body of the Battle, and the Left quickly followed their Example. This hasty Retreat struck such a Terror into the main Body, that they almost all took to their Heels without expecting the Enemy. The Earl of *Northumberland* alone, who commanded one of the Wings, stood without Motion, having first ordered his Troops to throw down their Arms, to let the Enemies see they had nothing to fear from him. *Richard* perceiving the Day was lost, and not being able to think of flying, or running the Risk of falling into the Hands of the Earl of *Richmond*, rushed into the midst of his Enemies, where he soon met with the Death he sought. Thus fell the Usurper, in a more glorious manner than his Crimes seemed to deserve. He wore but two Years and two Months the Crown which he had purchased by so many ill Actions.

The Battle held about two Hours, taking in the Time which was spent in the Pursuit of the Run-aways*. As the greatest Part of the King's Army took to flight without fighting, there were not slain
on

* This Battle was fought about three Miles from *Bosworth*, an ancient Market Town in *Leicestershire*. The exact Spot of Ground is frequently more and more discovered by pieces of Armour, Weapons, and especially abundance of Arrow-Heads found there of a long and large Proportion. There is a little Mount cast up on which *Henry VII* is said to make his Speech to his Soldiers.

on the Spot above two Thousand Men on his Side. The Earl of *Richmond* lost but a Hundred, of whom Sir *William Brandon* was the only Person of Note. He was Father to him whom we shall see hereafter Duke of *Suffolk*. On the King's Part the Duke of *Norfolk* lost his Life valiantly fighting for him who had made him a Duke. He would have doubtless gained more Honour and Glory, had he employed his Valour for a Prince who had better deserved than *Richard* that a Man should hazard his Life for his Sake. The Earl of *Northumberland* was taken into the Conqueror's Favour, having perhaps held Intelligence with him before the Battle. It seems at last that one may infer as much, as well from what he did in the Beginning of the Rout, as from certain Verses the Duke of *Norfolk* found that very Morning fixed on his Door, hinting to him that the *King was sold* *. The Earl of *Surrey*, Son of the Duke of *Norfolk*, was taken Prisoner, and sent at first to the *Tower of London*: But shortly after he had his Pardon and Liberty. Some of *Richard's* Friends were treated with the same Lenity; others had the Luck to escape. But *Catesby*, Minister and Confident of *Richard*, who had so basely betrayed the Lord *Hastings*, being made Prisoner, was executed two Days after at *Leicester*, with some others of the same Stamp, who had been the Usurper's Instruments.

The Duke of Norfolk among the slain.

The Earl of Surrey is taken Prisoner.

Catesby is executed.

Richard's Crown having been found by a Soldier, was brought by the Lord *Stanley*, who went immediately and set it on the Earl of *Richmond's* Head, congratulating him upon his Victory, and saluting him King. From that Time *Henry* kept the regal Title, and

The Lord Stanley sets the Crown on the Earl of Richmond's Head.

* The Verses said to be written upon the Tent Door were these :

Jack of Norfolk, be not too bold,
For Dicken thy Master is bought and sold.

John Howard Duke of *Norfolk* was the Son of Sir *Robert Howard* and *Margaret*, eldest Daughter and Co-heir of *Thomas Mowbray* Duke of *Norfolk*. He left behind him *Thomas* Earl of *Surrey*, and five Daughters.

1485.

Richard's
Body is car-
ried to
Leicester.

and acted as Sovereign, as if that bare Ceremony had given him an undoubted Right. *Richard's* Body was found among the Slain stark naked, and all besmeared with Blood and Dirt, and in that Pickle it was thrown cross a Horse, with the Head hanging down on one side and the Legs on the other, and so carried to *Leicester*. The Body lay two whole Days exposed to the View of the People, after which it was interred without any Ceremony in one of the Churches of that City. Some time after *Henry VII.* his Enemy and Successor ordered a more honourable Monument to be erected for him on the Score of *Elizabeth* his Queen, who was of *the House of York* *.

The Cha-
racter of
Richard
III.

Richard III. was surnamed *the Crook-backed* because he was so in reality. Moreover, one of his Arms was almost withered, receiving but little or no Nourishment. As to the Defects of his Mind, if we may believe the greatest Part of the Historians, they were so great and so many in Number, that it would be a hard Matter to find in History a Prince bad enough to match him. It is certain, he had a boundless Ambition, which often put him upon committing Actions unbecoming a Christian Prince. To this Passion alone must be ascribed his Treachery and Cruelty, since he was neither treacherous nor cruel but with regard to the procuring or keeping of the Crown. He has not been the only Prince whom Ambition has hurried on to run the same Lengths. The Historians who wrote in the Reign of *Henry VII.* and *Henry VIII.* have aggravated the Heinousness of his Actions to such a Degree, that one cannot help observing in their Writings a very strong Desire to please the Monarchs then on the Throne. It is even very probable that they have ascribed some Things to him upon no very good Grounds, as for Instance, the murdering with his own Hand *Henry VI.* and the Prince of *Wales* his Son, Their

* He was buried in *St. Mary's* belonging to a Monastery of the *Grey Friars*. *Henry VII.* put over him a Tomb of various coloured Marble, adorned with his Statue. *Richard* was not above Three or Four and Thirty Years old when he was killed.

Their eager Desire to say a great deal of Ill of this Prince, made them overlook the good Qualities he had, which ought not to have been passed over in Silence. Be that as it will, without taking upon me either to justify the Ill he did, or to condemn him by wholesale as some have done, I shall content my self with blaming what in him was blame-worthy, and acknowledging at the same Time what in him deserved Commendation. The Crimes he was guilty of in procuring or keeping the Crown, were, as I said before, the Effects and Consequences of his immoderate Ambition, by which he suffered himself to be blinded. But however, that does not in the least mitigate the Heinousness of them. As to the rest, he had a great deal of Sense and a very solid Judgment, Qualities that might have been a great Honour and Ornament to him, had they been used to better Purposes. We may judge of his good Sense and Penetration, by the Precautions he took to screen himself from the Assaults of his Enemies. These Precautions could not be more just, if it had not pleased *divine Providence* to render them fruitless, as it sometimes does with respect to seemingly the best concerted Designs. On several Occasions he showed an uncommon Valour, and especially in the Battle wherein he was slain. This is what cannot be denied him without manifest Injustice. He expressed great Concern that Justice should be impartially ministred to all his Subjects without Distinction, provided the Preservation of his Crown was not concerned; for in that respect he made no scruple to trample upon the Rules of Right and Equity. This natural Inclination which he showed for Justice, but which was combated by his Ambition, may afford some Ground to presume that perhaps he would have proved a good King had he been able to fix himself so firmly in the Throne as to have feared no ill Turn*. At least, it cannot be said that
this

* His Enemies seem to own, that excepting his Cruelties to gain and keep the Crown, one might judge him to be a good King: Particularly in his Care to check Vice and promote Sobriety and Virtue; with
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this is improbable. The Emperor *Augustus*, who had been guilty of so much Bloodshed and Cruelty in making his way to the Empire, affords a memorable and well-known Instance of such Change, and it would not be impossible to find other Examples. But as *Richard* was taken out of the World before he had given Signs of any Amendment, his ill Actions have swallowed up whatever he might have of commendable in him. There is one Historian however who has made it his Business to vindicate this Prince. But as he has set no Bounds to his Vindication, and has endeavoured to make him entirely innocent, he has not had the Fortune to gain much Credit: especially as he has been often obliged, in order to attain his Ends, to advance Facts which are not strictly true. He has however a Place in the Collection of the *English* Historians. But there is no modern Author that has thought fit to take him for a Guide *.

End of the
Reign of the
Plantage-
nets,

Richard left but one natural Son, who was a *Minor* when the King his Father died. Some Months before he had made him Governour of *Calais*, *Guifnes*, and of all the *Marches of Picardy* belonging to the Crown. With *Richard III.* ended the *Angevin* Kings, surnamed *Plantagenets* *, who since *Henry II.* the first of this Race, had

sent his *Circular Letter* to the Bishops, and in his Concern for the good Government and Ease of his Subjects, as may be seen in his *Proclamation* against the *Rebels* in *Kent*. My Lord *Verulan* says of him, that he was in Military Virtue approved, jealous of the Honour of the *English* Nation, and likewise a good *Law-Maker*. He abolished by Act of Parliament the odious Tax, disguised by the Name of a *Benevolence*. He founded the Society of *Heralds*, and made them a *Corporation*, &c.

* *George Buck* Esq; has endeavoured to represent King *Richard III.* as a Prince of much better Shapes (both of Body and Mind) than he had been generally esteemed. His Work, consisting of Five Books, is inserted in the Collection of the *English* Historians.

* i. e. a *Broom-Stalk*; the Reason of this Surname *Antiquaries* are at a Loss to find out, and give no better than this. Fulk the 1st Earl of *Au-
jou* of that Name, being stung with Remorse for some wicked Actions of his, in order to atone for them, went in Pilgrimage to *Jerusalem*, and before the *Holy Sepulchre* was soundly scourged with *Broom-Twigs* which grow in great Plenty there. From whence he ever after took the Surname of *Plantagenet* or *Broom-Stalk*, which was continued by his noble Posterity.

had been in Possession of the Crown of *England* from Father to Son, during the Space of Three Hundred and Thirty Years. *Richard* was the last King of this *House*; but he was not the last *Male*, as some have affirmed, since the Earl of *Warwick* his Nephew, Son of the Duke of *Clarence* his Brother, was still alive. This young Prince was the sole Relict of the Male-Issue of *Edward* III, which had been so numerous, but was almost entirely destroyed by the late Civil War. This War, which had commenced Thirty Years before, was at length determined by the Battle of *Bosworth*, after having taken away the Lives of above One Hundred Thousand *Englishmen*, and of a very great Number of Princes of the two contending *Houses*. *Philip de Comines* makes the Number to amount to Four-score. But it is a Mistake or Exaggeration of that Author, as it is easy to see by the *Genealogical Table* of the Posterity of *Edward* III. and of the Civil War.

Let us close the History of the *Plantagenets* with a brief Recapitulation of the most memorable Events which befel the Kings of that Race, whilst they were on the Throne of *England*. In this Summary of Fourteen Reigns, which we are just going through, we shall see, not without Astonishment perhaps, that the Happiness and Glory which that Race enjoyed for above Three Hundred Years were scarce worth speaking of in Comparison of their Misfortunes. Brief Recapitulation of the History of the Plantagenets.

HENRY II. the First King of this *House*, was the greatest of all the *English* Monarchs with respect to the Extent of his Dominions. Besides the Kingdom of *England*, he had in *France*, *Guienne*, *Poitou*, *Saintonge*, *Auvergne*, *Limousin*, *Perigard*, *Augoumois*, *Touaine*, *Anjou*, *Maine*, *Normandy*, to which he joined *Bretagne* by the Marriage of one of his Sons with the Heiress of that Dutchy: And lastly, crowned all with the Conquest of *Ireland*. But amidst all this Grandeur he was ever unhappy. His Contest with *Becket*, the vexatious Persecutions from Pope *Alexander* III, the Rebellion of his Queen and Sons, and the unfor-

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fortunate Issue of his last War with *France*, suffered him not to enjoy a Moment's Ease.

RICHARD I. rendered his Name famous in the *East*, by the Conquest of the Isle of *Cyprus*, by the taking of *Arc*, and by a great Victory over the *Saracens*. But the Fame he acquired by that Expedition was a dear Purchase to *Christendom*, and especially to *England*, on account of the vast Numbers of Men, and prodigious Quantity of Gold and Silver, which were exported from thence, and after all were of no great Service to the *Christians of Palestine*. *Richard* himself, at his Return into *Europe*, underwent the Hardships of a grievous and long Imprisonment, from whence he could not get free but by paying an exorbitant Ransom which quite drained his Kingdom. And at length, after a several Years hard Struggle with *Philip Augustus* to very little purpose, an Arrow shot from a Cross-Bow unfortunately gave him his Death's Wound at the Siege of *Cbalez*, which his greedy Desire of Money had put him upon undertaking.

JOHN Lackland enjoyed not a Moment's Happiness throughout his whole Reign. Persecuted first by the King of *France*, then by Pope *Innocent III.* and lastly by his own Subjects, his Reign was nothing but a Train of Misfortunes one upon the Neck of another. He sat out with losing all the Provinces his Ancestors had possessed in *France*. After which *Innocent III.* took his Crown from him, and gave it not back but upon shameful and dishonourable Terms. In a word, he had the great Mortification to see his Barons in Arms against him, and to die at a Time when All *England* was paying Allegiance to a foreign Prince.

HENRY III. a Prince of a very mean Spirit, lived in a continual State of Subjection, though seated on a Throne ; one while a Slave to his Favourites and Ministers, another while to the imperious Will of the Popes. At length, stript of all his Authority by his own Subjects, he remained for some time Prisoner in the Hands of his bitterest Enemies. And he was
entirely

entirely beholding to a Victory luckily won by the Prince his Son, for his Restoration and the Tranquillity he enjoyed the two last Years of his Life.

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EDWARD I. rendered his Name famous by the Conquest of *Scotland*. But after the spilling of Torrents of Blood in that unjust Quarrel, he had the Mortification to see his Prey snatched out of his Hands, and to die before he could get it again. His subduing of *Wales* was indeed the best Thing for *England* that ever had been done by any King.

The Reign of *EDWARD* II. is remarkable only for the ill Management and Misfortunes of that Prince. It is he that has furnished the first Instance of a King of *England* deposed by Authority of Parliament. And it had been well for him if the Fury of his Enemies had stopped there. But with an unparalleled Barbarity they made him suffer the most cruel Death that could possibly be devised, and which, after all, bore no Proportion to the Faults his Indiscretion had made him commit.

EDWARD III. was one of the most illustrious Kings of *England*, as well on the Score of his personal Qualities, as for his Victories in *France*, and the famous Treaty of *Bretigny* which brought him back with Interest the Provinces *John Lackland* had suffered to be taken away. But his Reign though glorious, was not without its Blemishes. His *Minority* was sullied by the tragical Death of *Edward* II. his Father, and of the Earl of *Kent* his Uncle. To punish these horrid Deeds, he was forced to keep his Mother in Prison as long as she lived. And towards the End of his Days he had the Mortification to see himself stript of all that he had re-conquered upon *France*, without any Prospect of being ever able to repair his Loss. In a Word, he ruined as one may say his own Reputation, and died at a Time when his Subjects began to lose the Esteem they had once entertained for him.

Thus far it is easy to see that the Race of the *Plantagenets* had enjoyed no great Share of Happiness. But their Misfortunes, which were blended with some Prosperity,

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perity, were mere Trifles in comparison of what that Race afterwards went through. When a Man takes a View of what happened to the Posterity of *Edward III.* he beholds nothing but Disasters, tragical or untimely Ends, Hatred, Animosity, Revenge, Civil Wars, unheard-of Cruelties, among Princes sprung from the same Stock. *England* had never seen so terrible a Havock of her Inhabitants, nor had the Scaffold been ever dyed with so much noble and royal Blood as during the Hundred Years between the Death of *Edward III.* and that of *Richard III.* Let us briefly run over the several Branches of *Edward the Third's* Family, in order to see their respective Calamities.

EDWARD the *Black Prince*, one of the most accomplished Princes that ever was born, died in the Forty-sixth Year of his Age, having first buried his eldest Son *Edward* who was but Seven Years old.

RICHARD II. his other Son, who mounted the Throne after his Grandfather, was deposed, imprisoned and barbarously murdered.

LIONEL Duke of *Clarence*, second Son of *Edward III.* died out of his native Country in the Flower of his Age. He left but one Daughter, whose Marriage into the Family of the *Mortimer's* was the Occasion of all the Calamities *England* was afflicted with for Thirty Years together.

The Posterity of *John of Gaunt*, *Edward's* Third Son, were far from being happy. *HENRY IV.* Successor of *Richard II.* passed his whole Reign under continual Apprehensions of losing a Crown which he had gained by extraordinary Methods, and kept by the violent Death of *Richard II.* whom he had caused to be murdered in Prison.

HENRY V. one of the most illustrious Kings that ever swayed the *English* Sceptre, after having pushed Matters in *France* to such a Height as to be declared *Regent and Heir* of that Kingdom, enjoyed so great an Honour not above Two Years, or rather had only a Foretaste of what he had so eagerly thirsted after,

ter,

ter. He died in the Flower of his Age, leaving a Son but Nine Months old, who afterwards proved very unfit to complete the Work which his illustrious Father had so gloriously begun.

The Dukes of *Clarence*, *Bedford* and *Gloucester*, died all Three without Issue. *Gloucester* was long exposed to the Fury of his Enemies, and at length fell a Sacrifice to their Vengeance.

HENRY VI. Son of *Henry V.* lost all that the King his Father had gained upon *France*. After which he was stript of his Royalty, imprisoned, restored for a short Space, and at last murdered by a Prince sprung from the same *Stem* with himself.

EDWARD his Son, Prince of *Wales*, died after the same Manner, and by the same Hand.

In running over the other Branch of *the House of Lancaster*, namely, That of *Beaufort-Somerset*, hardly shall we find one Prince but what lost his Life in a Battle or on the Scaffold.

The *House of York*, of whom *Edmund de Langley* Fourth Son of *Edward III* was Head, fared still worse. Some unlucky Stars seemed to be continually shedding their malignant Influences upon that Family. Excepting *Edmund de Langley* himself, first Duke of *York*, all the Princes descended of him died a violent or untimely Death.

EDWARD Duke of *York* his eldest Son, was slain at the Battle of *Azincourt*.

RICHARD Earl of *Cambridge* lost his Head on a Scaffold.

RICHARD Third Duke of *York*, and *EDMUND* Earl of *Rutland* his Son perished in the Battle of *Wakefield*.

GEORGE Duke of *Clarence* was afterwards sentenced to die in a Butt of *Malmsey* Wine.

EDWARD IV, after having enjoyed the Crown of *England* some Years, to which he had a better Title than *the House of Lancaster*, died indeed a natural Death, but it was in the Two and Fortieth Year of his Age.

EDWARD

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EDWARD V. and *RICHARD* his Brother were smothered in their Bed.

EDWARD Prince of *Wales*, Son of *Richard II.*, was taken out of the World in the Eleventh Year of his Age.

RICHARD III. was killed at the Battle of *Bosworth*.

In fine, we shall see in the Sequel of the History, *EDWARD* Earl of *Warwick*, Son of the unfortunate Duke of *Clarence*, and the only Male-Relict of the House of *York*, end his Days by the Hand of the Executioner.

Nothing more remains to complete the Account of the Disasters happened to the Posterity of *Edward III.* but to take notice that *THOMAS* of *Woodstock* Earl of *Gloucester*, Fifth Son of that Monarch, died a violent Death in Prison at *Calais*.

Should not all these Misfortunes which fell on the Heads of *Edward the Third's* Posterity be looked upon as the Effects of God's Vengeance extended to the Fourth Generation, for the barbarous Murder committed on the Person of *Edward II.*? At least, a Man cannot but see in these Events the tragical Death of *Edward II.* revenged upon *Richard II.*; that of *Richard* upon *Henry VI.*; that of *Henry* upon *Edward V.*; and that of *Edward* upon *Richard III.*

The End of the Reign of RICHARD III.

T H E



K. HENRY VII.

Q. T. 1. 1. 1.



THE
HISTORY of *ENGLAND*.

BOOK XIV.

*The Reign of HENRY VII, with the STATE
of the CHURCH from the Beginning of the
Reign of HENRY IV, 1399, to the End of
the Reign of HENRY VII, 1509.*

19. HENRY VII.



THE Battle of *Bosworth* being ended,
as hath been said, by the Rout of the
Royal Army, and Death of King
Richard, Henry caused *Te Deum* to
be sung upon the Spot, all the Troops
falling on their Knees to return God
Thanks for his Victory. Presently
after the whole Army, as it were by
inspiration, made the Air resound with the Cry of,
Long live King Henry, the which was no ungrateful
sound in his Ears. And indeed it was a sort of mili-
ary Election, which might have served him for Found-

1485.
HENRY
VII,
proclaimed
King by his
Army.

1485.
He is in
suspence a-
bout taking
the Title of
King.

dation to lay Claim to the Crown, supposing he had been provided with no other. But however, the uncertainty he was in, whether he should stick to this Election, or whether he should found his Title upon a more solid Basis, put him at a stand. Nevertheless he must resolve without Delay, either to reject the Title which his Army had given him, till the Parliament should confirm it, or to accept it, and assert his Right independently of the Consent of the *Estates*.

The Rea-
sons of it.

He had three Titles whereon he could ground his Right. The first was, his Descent from the *House of Lancaster* by *Margaret* his Mother, Daughter of a Duke of *Somerset*. The *House of Lancaster* had been possessed of the Crown above sixty Years, and this Possession had been confirmed by *Acts* of Parliament. But then several Parliaments had afterwards condemned this Possession as an Usurpation, and judged the Crown to the *House of York*, as issuing from *Lionel* second Son of *Edward III.* This Point considered originally and a-part from the Circumstances which moved the Parliaments to come to such opposite Determinations, could not be decided in Favour of the *House of Lancaster*, if the Laws and Customs of the Realm had taken Place. But if, setting aside the usual practice, the Matter should be considered with respect to the *Acts* of Parliament, it could not but be doubtful, since the *Pro* and *Con* were equally backed by the same Authority. One could further object to *Henry*, that although sundry Parliaments had decided the Point in Favour of the *House of Lancaster*, yet it did not follow that the *House of Somerset* could be the better for that Division. The *Somersets* were indeed descended of the *House of Lancaster*; but it was by a *Bastard-Branch* which had no Right to pretend to the Crown but by Virtue of their Legitimation. Now it was a Question not yet decided, whether the *Act of Legitimation*, and *Richard the Second's* Letters Patents pursuant to that *Act*, gave to that *Branch*, issuing from a *Bastard* born in Adultery, the Right to succeed to the Crown, though neither the *Act of Par-*
liament,

ment, nor King *Richard's Letters* said one Syllable about it. Besides, even taking this Right for granted, another *Query* still arose, namely, whether the Issue of a Bastard-Son legitimated, were to have the Preference of the Descendents of the Daughters born in Wedlock, of whom there were several in *Castile, Portugal* and *Germany*. To leave these Points to the Examination of the Parliament, seemed therefore too dangerous a Thing for *Henry*. But on the other Hand, he was not ignorant that in deciding the Differences between the *Houses* of *Lancaster* and *York*, the Parliaments had not so much minded the *Pleas* of either Party, as the Circumstances of Time and Things. Now he could never have a better Juncture than the present, seeing he had just delivered *England* from a Tyrant hated by all the World. *Henry IV* his Predecessor had not done more for the *English*, when in requital the Crown was adjudged to him to the Prejudice of the *House of March*.

Henry's second Title, was his intended Marriage with *Elizabeth* eldest Daughter of *Edward IV*, with whom he had sworn to marry. But here no less Difficulties occurred. If he relied upon this Title, he was under a Necessity to resolve either to reign solely in Right of his Wife, or to confound together the Titles of both *Houses*. In the former Case, he would have given up his own, to leave to the *House of York* a Title which had all along been contested, and have owned that *House's* Claim, for the sole Foundation of his mounting the Throne. Besides, he considered that in Case *Elizabeth* should happen to dye without Issue, all her Rights would naturally fall to her next Sister, and by that Means he should be shut out from the Throne upon the Death of his Wife: That supposing he should be able to get the Parliament to adjudge him the Crown during Life, he should only have a Personal Right, which would not descend to the Children he might have by a second Wife,

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In the latter Case, if he confounded together the *Titles* of both *Houses* by Means of that intended Marriage, pursuant to the Intention of those that had invited him into *England*, it is true indeed, that Mixture of *Titles* might be of Benefit to the Children born of this Marriage. But if by ill Luck he should have no Issue, and should dye before *Elizabeth*, he should leave the Crown in Possession of the *House of York*, the which his Aversion for that *House* would not suffer him to have even the most distant Prospect of, without an extreme Concern : But if on the contrary, *Elizabeth* should dye before him, he foresaw that it would prove the Occasion of renewing the Troubles of the Kingdom, since as she had reigned in her own Right, her Sister or nearest Relations, might put in their Claim to succeed her.

Henry's third *Title* was, that of the *Sword* or *Conquest*, which the Victory he had just won seemed to give him. But he considered that his Victory was owing to the Succours he had received from the People of *England*, and therefore it gave him at most but a Right of *Conquest* over the vanquished Party. Besides, as he could not support himself but by the Help of these same Succours, he had reason to fear, that if he relied on this pretended Title, he should lose his best Friends, since such a Procedure might be construed as a settled Design to rule with arbitrary Power. He was sensible that *William the Conqueror* had wisely avoided that Shoal, by rejecting the Title of the *Sword* till he saw himself firmly seated in the Throne.

These were Points of such Consequence as deserved that *Henry* should consider them maturely before he came to any Resolution. But on the other Hand, he had no middle Way to take. He must necessarily either accept the *Title* which the Army gave him, and so take upon him to exert his Claim, without the Parliament's Consent, or by rejecting it, show that he was diffident of his own Right, and run the hazard of a troublesome Examination. After having weighed the Reasons on both Sides, as far as the Time would

would allow, he resolved at length to stick to the *Title of the House of Lancaster*. So taking for granted that the Army in giving him the Title of King, had ascribed to him nothing but what was his Due, he determined to assert the *Lancastrian* Claim, without any Mixture of that of *York*, and without submitting it even to the Examination of the Parliament. With this View it was that he resolved to be crowned before he summoned the Parliament, and to put off his Marriage till he had got an *Act* to adjudge him the Crown as his own by Inheritance. He determined therefore to assume the Title of King, and to issue out Orders as such, as if the Crown was fallen to him of Right, though *Margaret* his Mother was still alive, and ought to come in before him. In spite of all the Reasons which rendered his *Title* dubious, he believed there were likewise Reasons sufficient to enable him to support it, especially at a Time when his Victory was enough to decide all Disputes in his Favour. This Resolution was the Fountain from whence flowed all the Troubles of his Reign.

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He resolves
to take the
Title of
King,

and be
crowned
without
bringing his
Claim into
question.

Mean while, though he affected to be satisfied of the Goodness of his *Title*, yet was he diffident of it in his Mind, well knowing that if it came to be contested, the Reasons he should alledge for it were of no great Weight, without they were backed with Force of Arms. In this State he continued the far greatest Part of his Life. Always unconcerned to outward Appearance, and yet inwardly terrifying himself at the least Thing, and dreading that every little Accident would be of dangerous Consequence. The *House of York* was always a Terror to him. He knew very well that they who had brought him in, were not Enemies to that *House*, but only to the Person of *Richard III*. So the Claims of the two *Houses* remaining still doubtful, as not having been decided but by the *Sword*, he was very sensible that his Right could not be maintained but by the same Way, or by wise Precautions, to prevent Matters from coming again to the Decision of Arms.

He is a-
fraid of the
House of
York.

Upon

1485.
He sends
the Earl of
Warwick
to the
Tower.

Upon these Considerations it was that the next Day after the Battle he sent a Detachment of *Horse* under the Command of Sir *Robert Willoughby* to the Castle of *Sheriff-Hatton*, to take from thence the Earl of *Warwick*, and conduct him to the *Tower of London*. This young Prince was Son and Heir to *George Duke of Clarence*, who had ended his Days in a But of *Malmsey*. After the Death of the Duke his Father, *Edward IV* his Uncle had him carefully educated, and created him *Earl of Warwick*, a Title which his Uncle by the Mother's Side had born. He was not willing to make him *Duke of Clarence*, least that Title should help to preserve the Memory of an unhappy Brother, whom he had sacrificed to his Jealousy. Upon *Richard's* mounting the Throne, he ordered this young Prince his Nephew to be shut up in the Castle above-named, knowing how likely he was one Day to disturb him in the Possession of the Crown. After the Usurper's Death, the Earl of *Warwick* seemed to have room to expect some Favour from his Successor ; but it proved just the contrary. So far was *Henry* from giving him his Liberty, that he made him close Prisoner in the *Tower*, an Usage which proceeded only from his Jealousy and inward Conviction that his Title was not so undoubted as he affected to believe. But this was not all. We shall see hereafter that he put this unhappy Prince to Death by the Hands of the Executioner, wherein he played the Tyrant, beyond the Tyrant himself, from whom he boasted to have freed the Kingdom.

The Princess
Elizabeth comes
to London.

The Princess *Elizabeth*, whom *Henry* was to marry, was kept in the same Castle by the late King's Order, who did not think fit to leave her to chuse a Husband, intending to marry her himself. *Henry* purposing to be at *London* with all possible speed, thought it not proper to leave the Princess at so great a Distance, lest some Body should put it in her Head that she had no need to join her Title with that of another Person. With this View he sent to desire her to come and be with the Queen her Mother at *London*. His Design

Design was to have it believed that he intended to espouse her very quickly, though he was determined to defer his Marriage till after the *Session* of the Parliament.

A few Days after *Henry* set forward by easy Journeys to *London*, taking care to avoid all appearance that he would make use of the *Right of Conquest*. He was received in all Places with loud Acclamations, the People looking upon him as their Deliverer, and as one going by his Marriage to put an End to all the Calamities which the Civil Wars had caused in the Kingdom. He made his Entry into *London* with a great deal of State *. However the People had not the Satisfaction to see him as he went through the City, because he rode all the Way in a close Chariot till he came to *St. Paul's*. His Historian ascribes this to a Motive of Grandeur and Security, as if having been proscribed in the Reign of *Richard III.* he disdained to fawn upon the People, lest they should think that he expected every Thing from them. But I do not know whether this is better grounded than what the same Historian adds, that *Henry* caused *Richard's* Standards taken at *Bosworth*, to be brought into *St. Paul's* Church, that the People of *London* might not forget that he had just won a Battle, and was entering the City as a Conqueror. When a Prince has once got the Name of a *Politician*, one is willing to discover in his most indifferent Actions some Thing mysterious, suitable to the Notion one has formed of him.

Henry is well received at London.

Next Day *Henry* assembled a Council *¹ of all the Persons of Distinction in the Court and City, in the Presence of whom he solemnly renewed his Oath to marry the Princess *Elizabeth*. This was absolutely necessary at the present Juncture, because of a Report spread

He ratifies his Oath to marry Elizabeth.

* On a *Saturday*; and as he had also obtained the Victory upon a *Saturday*, he counted out of Fancy, and chose afterwards that Day as a Day prosperous to him. *Bacon.*

*¹ In the Bishop of *London's* Palace, where he lodged for some Time. *Bacon.*

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spread abroad, that he was contracted to *Ann*, eldest Daughter of the Duke of *Bretagne*, and that he had not acted with Sincerity when he promised to marry the Daughter of *Edward IV.* Besides, though his Design was not to derive his Right from this Marriage, it was however to his Purpose that People should think so, till such Time as he had obtained of the Parliament what he wanted, for fear Measures should be taken beforehand to lay Obstacles in his Way. The Truth is, he was resolved to keep his Word, but he was bent not to consummate his Marriage before the Coronation was over, lest he should be obliged to have his Queen crowned with him, and so by a joint Coronation should countenance her Title. He had also reason to fear, that in Case his Nuptials were celebrated before the Parliament met, some Clause in Favour of the *House of York* might be inserted in the *Act* of settling the Succession to the Crown.

The Sweating
Sickness.

About the middle of *September* the City of *London* was afflicted with a Disease then unknown, which threw the *Patients* into a prodigious Sweat, and carried them off in four and twenty Hours. Those that died not within that Time, were almost sure of recovering. By good Luck it lasted not but till the End of *October*; however it swept away Multitudes of People before proper Remedies were found out. The Method of Cure was to keep the *Patient* neither too hot nor too cold, with moderate *Cordials*, which without increasing the Heat too much, helped Nature to expel the *Humours* which caused these extraordinary Sweatings.

The Earl of
Oxford is
made Go-
vernour of
the Tower.
Act. Pub.
XII. 276.

About this Time the new King made the Earl of *Oxford* Governour of the *Tower*, who had all along been a fast Friend to the *House of Lancaster*, and who, after having found Means to get out of the Castle of *Hammes*, went and joined him at *Paris*, and had since done him signal Services, particularly at the Battle of *Bosworth*.

Some

Some Time after the King issued out a *Proclamation* notifying that he had concluded a Truce for one Year with the King of *France*, to commence the last Day of *September*. It was no small Matter for him to let the People see that *Charles VIII* acknowledged him for King, even before he was declared so by the Parliament.

1485.
Truce with
France.
p. 277.

The Coronation-Day being at Hand, it was necessary to settle the Places and Claims of those who were to officiate at this Ceremony. To that Purpose, it was requisite to create a Lord *High-Steward*. But as this Office for some Time had not been enjoyed out by Princes of the Blood, and as there were none then in the Kingdom, the King, not to raise Jealousies among the Great Men, caused it to be executed by *Commissioners*.

The Office
of High-
Steward is
exercised by
Commis-
sioners.
ibid.

Mean while, he would not delay any longer to show his Gratitude to three Lords who had faithfully and to good Purpose served him in his greatest Distresses. These were *Jasper* Earl of *Pembroke*, his Mother's Brother, *Thomas* Lord *Stanley* his Father-in-law, and *Sir Edward Courtney*. The first had been a Father to him in his Youth, and had as it were plucked him out of the Snares *Edward IV* had laid for him when he was concealed in *Wales*. After that, he had been a constant Companion to him in *Bretagne*, and had been very helpful to him in overcoming all the Difficulties which had occurred in his Undertakings. In return for his Services *Henry* gave him the Title of *Duke of Bedford*, vacant ever since the Death of the famous Duke of *Bedford* Brother of *Henry V*. The Lord *Stanley*, who had been very serviceable to the King at the Battle of *Bosworth*, was created *Earl of Derby*. *Sir Edward Courtney*, who had ventured to engage in his Interest, and to back in the *Western* Counties the Duke of *Buckingham's* Plot, was honoured with the Title of *Earl of Devonshire*. *Henry* thought not proper to dispense his Favours to others, being willing according to the Custom of his Predecessors, to reserve his Creations till the sitting of the Parliament.

Creations

1485.
The King's
Coronation.

The Coronation had been fixed to the 30th of October, and the Parliament was not to meet till the 7th of November. Hence 'tis evident, that *Henry* intended not to bring his *Title* into Question, and that he had no mind to leave to the Parliament's Care any Thing more than to confirm his Coronation, without suffering his Right to be inquired into. The Examples of *Edward IV* and *Richard III* had taught him that the best way to gain the Parliament's Approbation, was to take Possession. The Truth is, it is one Thing to debate, whether a Prince who claims a Crown, has a Right to pretend to it, and another Thing to consult whether he must be turned out of the Throne he is in actual Possession of. The former of these Things may be done by Reasons, Arguments, and studied Speeches. The latter has need of an Army ready at Hand to back the Reasons. So *Henry* may be said to set the Crown himself on his own Head, since he made himself alone Judge in his own Cause, without the Authority of the Parliament, who would have had a great deal to say, if they had examined by Virtue of what *Henry* ascended the Throne, or had been at Liberty so to do. The Ceremony of the Coronation was performed by the Hands of Cardinal *Bourchier* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, who taking for granted, that *Henry's* Right was indisputable, thought it not proper to inquire about the Validity of his Title. The same Day *Henry* instituted a Guard of fifty *Archers* * to attend him and his Successors for ever, disguising under Colour of Grandeur and Majesty, a Precaution which he believed apparently necessary at that present Juncture.

He institutes a
Guard of
50 Archers.

The Parliament
meets.

The Parliament met eight Days after the Coronation. *Henry's* Ends in calling a Parliament were chiefly four. The first was to get himself declared King *de Jure*, as he was already King *de Facto*, and
to

* Under a Captain, by the Name of *Yeomen of the Guard*. There are at present 100 in daily Waiting, and 70 more not in Waiting, and as one of the 100 dies, his Place is filled up out of the 70.

to procure an *Entail* of the Crown upon himself, by an *Act* in Form. The *second*, to reverse the *Attainders* of all of his Party. The *third*, to *attaint* those that had appeared the most forward against him, and the most zealous for the late King. The *fourth* and *last* was to show, that notwithstanding he had by his sole Authority taken possession of the Throne, to prevent his *Title* from being called in Question, he intended however to govern the Kingdom like his Predecessors, by way of *Parliaments*, and not to assume a *despotick* Power. This Step was absolutely necessary for a Prince, whose Title was so dubious, and who ascended the Throne without being called to it in the usual Way.

It was requisite both for the People's Satisfaction and the King's Security, that the Parliament should settle the Crown upon him by an express *Act*; otherwise People would have thought they might chuse whether they would pay him Obedience. And supposing he had been powerful enough to cause his Authority to be owned without such an *Act*, he was not sure his Heirs would always be in the like favourable Circumstances. Mean while, it was no easy Matter to determine how this *Act* should be worded. Henry was bent to hold the Crown; neither by the People's Election, nor by the Parliament, nor in the Right of the Princess he was to marry. He did not so much as intend that *Elizabeth* should have any greater Share in the Royal Dignity than a Queen that was a Foreigner might have. Nevertheless, in those early Days of his Reign, it was proper that the People should not know so much, but should have cause to believe that the King relied upon all these *Titles*. The Reason was, the *English* were extremely jealous of the Authority of their *Parliaments*, and generally stood much better affected to the *House of York* than to that of *Lancaster*. Wherefore the King finding the Parliament disposed to do whatever he could desire, intimated or dictated himself the Terms the *Act* should be expressed in, namely, *That the Inheritance of the Crown should rest, remain,*

Difficulties about settling the Succession.

1485.

and abide in the King, &c. Which ambiguous Words leave it undecided, whether he had a *Prior Right*, which was doubtful, or whether he was only King in *Fact*, which could not be denied. As for the Limitation of the *Entail*, he was contented it should go no further than to himself and to the *Heirs* of his Body, leaving the rest to be decided by Law, in case his Issue should come to fail. So by not mentioning the *House of York*, the *Act* left it undetermined whether that *House* was entirely excluded, or whether it might inherit after the *Heirs* of the new King. In this obscure and ambiguous Manner did the Parliament word the *Act* which was afterwards confirmed by the Pope's *Bull*. But however, *Henry* took care to have all his *Titles* inserted in the *Bull*, namely, his Descent from the *House of Lancaster*, his Marriage with *Edward the Fourth's* eldest Daughter, his Victory of *Bosworth*, and the *Act* of Parliament: To which might be added the *Bull* confirming them. All these *Titles* huddled together are a clear Evidence of the Uncertainty he himself was under with respect to his Right, and the Perplexity that Uncertainty threw him into.

Question in
Parliament
decided by
the Judges.

The *Act* of Settlement and Succession being passed, it was moved that a *Bill* should be brought in to reverse the *Attainders* of the King's Friends, whilst he was only Earl of *Richmond*. But several of these *attainted* Persons were actually Members of the *House of Commons*, elected by the Favour they had found with the People since the *Revolution*. There were likewise some of the *House of Lords* in the same Case. It was objected therefore, that it was contrary to all Law and Equity that these Persons should give their *Votes* in an Affair wherein they were Parties concerned, and be Judges in their own Cause. The King was sorry to see that the *Acts* passed in the late Reign should be deemed valid, and that his Friends had need to be purged of the Crime of espousing his Quarrel. He concealed however his Concern, and contented himself with insinuating that he wished the *Judges* to be advised with
upon

upon that Point. The *Judges* being met*, gave it as their Opinion, that the *Members* attainted by Course of Law, should forbear the *House* till an *Act* was passed for the Reversal of their *Attainders*. 1485.

But whilst they were debating upon this Matter, another Question was started with respect to the King himself, who was of the Number of the *Attainted*, having been declared *Traitor* and *Rebel* by an *Act* of Parliament. This Question was much more puzzling than the other. The King could not be disjoined from the Parliament without dissolving it, neither was there any likelihood that he would submit to a Parliamentary Examination. In this perplexed Case, the *Judges* unanimously resolved, *That the Crown takes away all Defects and Stops in Blood: and that from the Time the King did assume the Crown, the Fountain was cleared, and all Attainders and Corruption of Blood discharged.* *Another relating to the King decided also by the Judges.* This Decision more conformable to *Politicks* than to the Laws, established a Principle that might be attended with terrible Consequences.

This Affair being over, the Parliament passed an *Act* of *Attainder* against the late King, by the Name of the Duke of *Gloucester*, and against his principal Adherents. Of this Number were the Duke of *Norfolk*, the Earl of *Surrey*, the Lords *Lovel*, *Ferrers*, *Zouch*, Sir *Richard Ratcliff*, Sir *William Catesby*, all *Ministers* or *Favourites* of *Richard III.* and his Adherents. *Act against Richard III. and his Adherents.* Of whom some were killed at *Bosworth-Field*, others executed since the Battle. If the Plots which were formed afterwards against *Henry* himself had taken Effect, he would doubtless have been served in the same Manner with all his Adherents. So dangerous a Thing is it to carry Matters too far in Cases of this Nature. Accordingly, we shall see hereafter that *Henry* perceiving the Consequences of these Things, caused an *Act* to be passed to prevent the ill Use that might be made of such a *Precedent*. The Design of the present *Act* was to satisfy the

* In the *Exchequer-Chamber*, which is the *Council-Chamber* of the *Judges*.

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the King's Vengeance, and help him to the forfeited Estates of the *Attainted*. These *Confiscations* brought him in immense Sums, which rendered the Demand of a *Subsidy* unnecessary in this first Parliament, especially as the Nation was at Peace, or in Truce with all their Neighbours.

General Pardon.

After the King had taken Vengeance of his Enemies, and filled his Coffers, he issued out his *Royal Proclamation*, offering *Pardon* to all that had been concerned in any Plot against him before he came to the Crown, or had bore Arms in Defense of the late King, provided they came and submitted themselves by such a Day. His Design at first was to get this *General Pardon* passed in Parliament; but recollecting upon second Thoughts that it was an *Act of Grace*, he chose rather that it should flow wholly from himself. Several who were under Apprehensions of being prosecuted, were very forward to take the Oath of Allegiance, that they might enjoy the Benefit of the *Pardon*. But others chose to remain in *Sanctuary*, till the Character of the new King was a little better known. The Lord *Lovel*, one of *Richard the Third's* Favourites took that Course.

Creations of Peers.

Before the Parliament broke up, *Henry* was pleased to reward some of the Companions of his Exile, by creating them *Peers of the Realm*. The Lord *Chandos* of *Bretagne* was made *Earl of Bath*; Sir *Giles D'Aubeney* received the Title of Baron of *D'Aubeney*, and Sir *Robert Willoughby* that of Lord *Brooke*. At the same Time the King restored *Edward Stafford* to the Dignity of *Duke of Buckingham*, forfeited by the *Attainder* of the Duke his Father, and also to all the Possessions belonging to his Family, which had been confiscated in the late Reign. This was a Piece of Justice which he could hardly help doing the Son of a Lord, who had lost his Life in his Service, and built him a Bridge to the Crown upon his own Ruins.

The King redeems his Pledges from France,

The Parliament breaking up about the End of November, *Henry* sent into France *Oliver King*, Archdeacon of *Oxford*, with Money to repay King *Charles* the

the Sums he had lent him, and the Charges he had been at in fitting out the Fleet which brought him to *England*. Whereupon the Marquis of *Dorset* and Sir *John Bourchier*, who had been left as Pledges at *Paris*, had leave to return into their own Country. At the same time *Henry* gave his *Envoy* Power to prolong the Truce with *France*, if he found King *Charles's* Council inclined to it. and offers to prolong the Truce.

It was probably his want of ready-Money to pay the King of *France* that put him upon sending to the City of *London* to borrow Six Thousand Marks. His Demand met at first with great Difficulties, because People were not yet sufficiently acquainted with his Temper. However, he obtained at last a Loan of Two Thousand Pounds, which he received in good Part, and punctually repayed afterwards. He often made such kind of Loans throughout the Course of his Reign, and was always punctual to the Days of Payment. His View was to establish his Credit in that powerful City, that he might make use of it upon any emergent Occasion. He borrows Money of the City.

About the End of the Year he called to his Privy-Council *John Morton* Bishop of *Ely*, lately returned from *Flanders*, and *Richard Fox*. He lay under great Obligations to *Morton*, particularly for the Intelligence he had given him of what was plotting against him in *Bretagne*, and he had a great Value for *Fox*, knowing him to be a Person capable of doing him great Service, and to be of a Temper very like his own. In Time *Morton* was made Archbishop of *Canterbury*, Lord Chancellor, Prime Minister, and at length Cardinal. As for *Fox*, the King made him first Lord Keeper of the Privy-Seal, then Bishop of *Exeter*: After that he translated him to *Bath* and *Wells*, from thence to *Durham*, and lastly to *Winchester*, the richest Bishoprick in *England*. These two Prelates and one *Urswick* Chaplain to the King were almost always employed in Commissions, Embassies and Negotiations of the greatest Moment. *Henry* loved to employ Ecclesiasticks, because he had always Church-Preferments ready Morton and Fox are made Privy-Counsellors.

1485.

ready at Hand to reward them with. But he took care to promote them by Degrees from smaller to larger *Sees*. In so doing he found his own Accounts; for by translating Bishops from one *See* to another, he made the more *Vacancies*, and by that Means the *First-Fruits* which accrued to the King were greatly multiplied. Never was Prince more eager in seeking all Opportunities to heap up Riches. Covetousness was his predominant Passion. He was governed by it even in his meanest Actions. It made him take abundance of false Steps, as will be manifest hereafter.

The Events of this Reign have such a Connexion with those of some other *States*, that it will be absolutely necessary to show in a few Words the Posture of the Affairs of divers Princes. Otherwise a Man would have but an imperfect Knowledge of the Motives of *Henry the Seventh's* Conduct, who made in his Time a very great Figure in *Europe*, though not so much by means of his *Arms* as of his *Politicks*. I shall begin with *Bretagne*.

*Affairs of
Bretagne.
Aigentré.*

I have observed elsewhere that *Peter Landais* Favourite of the Duke of *Bretagne*, entirely governed that Prince, who was grown old and infirm, and was very much impaired in his Understanding: that several Lords of *Bretagne* had made a League against that *Minister*; that they had resolved to seize him, but having missed their Aim were exposed to the Vengeance of the Favourite, who had got them all to be condemned to die. In the Beginning of this Year 1485, *Landais*, in the Name of the Duke his Master, levied an Army to put the *Sentence* in Execution, and the Lords on their Part took up Arms in their Defence. Whilst *Bretagne* was thus divided, and the two Parties were ready to come to Blows, the condemned Lords caused it to be represented to those who served *Landais*, that in the present Business the Interest of the Duke their common Master was not concerned, but only his unworthy Favourite's: That it was unjust to shed the Blood of their Countrymen in the Quarrel of such a Man as he, who had notoriously abused his Master's

Confidence.

Confidence: That therefore, to allay at once the Troubles of *Bretagne*, there was a much more natural and ready Way than that of Arms, namely, to rid themselves of the *Minister*, which done, not a Soul would be found but what would pay all due Obedience to the Duke. The Lords of the Duke's Party having deemed this Expedient to be very reasonable, were of Opinion that in reality it was for the Interest of the Country and of the Duke himself, that *Landaïs*, sole Cause of the Troubles, should fall a Sacrifice to the Good of the Publick. *Landaïs* having Notice that the Lords of the two Armies were contriving something against him, caused a Declaration to be drawn up, wherein the Duke ordered that all Persons who held Intelligence with the *proscribed* Lords, should be deemed *Traitors* and *Rebels*. But this only served to hasten his Ruin. The *Chancellor*, who was in the Plot against him, refused to set the *Seal* to the Declaration, and informed the Lords of it, who resolved to have no longer any regard for the Favourite. So without giving him time to take other Measures, they went in a Body to the Palace and laid Hands upon *Landaïs* in the Duke's own Apartment, who was fain to deliver him up on Condition they would spare his Life. But that was not their Design. On the contrary, they brought him to a speedy Tryal, and having convicted him of a Thousand Crimes, they made him atone for them on the Gallows before the Duke knew any Thing of the Sentence. How much soever the Duke was troubled at the Death of his Favourite, he could not help granting the Lords of the two Armies *Letters of Pardon*. Thus *Bretagne* would have been restored to her former Tranquillity, had not the Duke been so impolitick as to concern himself with the Troubles of the Court of *France*, which proved the Ruin of himself and Dukedom. This is what must be now shown, since it was the Occasion of the War which broke out between *Charles VIII.* and the Duke of *Bretagne*, and wherein *Henry VII.* was a Party concerned.

1485.
Affairs of
France.
Mezerai.

Lewis XI King of *France* dying in the Year 1483, left the Management of the Person of *Charles VIII* his Son and Successor, to *Ann* his Daughter, Wife of *Peter de Bourbon* Lord of *Beaujeu*. *Charles* was fourteen Years Old, and consequently of *Age* according to the Decree of *Charles V*. But as he had been ill educated, the King his Father thought him incapable of holding the Reins of Government himself. The Moment *Lewis XI* was laid in his Grave, *Lewis* Duke of *Orleans*, first Prince of the Blood, refused to acknowledge *Ann* of *Beaujeu* for the King's Governess, affirming that a Woman had no Right to meddle with State-Affairs. The *States* being assembled at *Tours* in *January* 1484, ended the Dispute by their Authority. They confirmed the late King's Will, and ordered that the Duke of *Orleans* should be President of the *Council* in the King's Absence.

Whilst the *States* of *France* were assembled, the Lords of *Bretagne* made their first Attempt upon *Landais* mentioned heretofore, and which proved unsuccessful. The *Sentence* which was passed upon them, putting them in dread of the Favourite's Revenge, they applied to *Ann* of *Beaujeu* for the Protection of the King her Brother. On the other Hand, *Landais* seeing his Enemies had recourse to the Lady *Ann*, thought he could not do better than rely upon the Assistance of the Duke of *Orleans*. With this View he begged the Favour of him to come to the Court of *Bretagne*, putting him in hopes that the Duke would give him in Marriage *Ann* his eldest Daughter and Heir Apparent. The Duke of *Orleans* had already married against his Will *Joanna* Daughter of *Lewis XI*, but he had made against this constrained Match secret *Protestations*; which he intended to make use of, to annul his Marriage when a more favourable Juncture should offer. Wherefore, pleased with the Hopes *Landais* had given him, he came to *Bretagne* where he was extremely carested. But he could make no long stay there, being obliged to go and assist at the King's Coronation, which was performed in *June*
this

this Year. In all likelihood, whilst he was in *Bretagne* he concerted with the Duke and his Favourite Measures to disturb the Government of *Ann of Beaujeu*, who was become absolute Mistress of the Person and Affairs of the King her Brother.

Shortly after, the Duke of *Orleans* having formed a League against the Court, and being retired to *Boisgency*, demanded that the *States of France* might be assembled. He intended to get them to void the Regulation which was already made, with respect to the Government of the King's Person. But *Ann of Beaujeu* caused the King to march against him with such Expedition, that he saw himself forced to submit to what Terms they were pleased to impose upon him, by reason his Friends were not yet ready to assist him. By this Agreement the Earl of *Dunois* and *Longueville*, who was looked upon as his chief Adviser, was banished to *Ast* in *Piedmont*, a Town belonging to the Duke of *Orleans*, with a Command not to stir from thence without the King's express Leave.

The Duke of *Orleans* having been thus compelled to dismiss his Troops, ordered it so that the greatest Part of them went and sided with the Duke of *Bretagne* against the condemned Lords. On the other Hand, *Ann of Beaujeu* sent likewise to the Barons Part of the King's Troops. *Landais's* Death which happened soon after, was not capable to make the Duke of *Orleans* give over his Projects. He stood in need of the Duke of *Bretagne* to make Head against the Court, and even hoped he should one Day marry his Daughter. On the other Side, the Duke of *Bretagne* having been greatly persecuted by *Lewis XI*, and knowing that *Ann of Beaujeu* was of the same Character, and trod in his Steps, believed he could not do better than rely upon the Assistance of the Duke of *Orleans*. So after some private Negotiations, these two Princes made a League together, into which came *John de Chalon* Prince of *Orange*, Nephew to the Duke of *Bretagne*, the Duke of *Bourbon*, the Earl of *Dunois*, the Duke of *Lorraine*, and several other

1485. Princes and Lords. Some Time after the Earl of *Dunois* returned into *France* without Leave, and withdrew to his Seat at *Partenay* in *Poitou*. The King was ignorant as yet of the Duke of *Orleans*'s Designs. But the Return of the Earl of *Dunois* having made him perceive some Plot was brewing in Favour of that Prince who was gone to *Blois*, he sent him a positive Order to come to Court. The Duke obeyed upon a second Summons. But next Day being informed that some Ill was intended him, he made as if he was going a Hunting, and retired into *Bretagne*, whether he was quickly followed by the Prince of *Orange* and the Earl of *Dunois*. This was in the Beginning of the Year 1486. We must now see what was doing in the *Low-Countries*.

*Affairs of
the Low-
Countries.*

Since the Death of *Maria* of *Burgundy*, *Maximilian* of *Austria* her Husband had been involved in Troubles on the Score of the Guardianship of *Philip* her Son, become Sovereign of the *Low-Countries* by the Death of the Dutchess his Mother. *Brabant*, *Holland*, and *Zeland*, were willing to receive him for Guardian; but *Flanders* and *Hainault* refused to obey him as such.

The Obstinacy of the *Flemings* had obliged *Maximilian* to make Peace with *Lewis XI* upon these Terms: That the Dauphin *Charles*, Son of *Lewis*, should marry *Margaret* Daughter of *Maximilian*, as soon as the two Parties should come to such an Age; That *Margaret* should have for Dowry *Artois*, *Francbe Comté*, *Mâcon*, *Auxerre*, and be educated at the Court of *France*; Pursuant to this Treaty, *Lewis* had kept these Provinces which he had already seized, and taken *Margaret* Home, against the Marriage could be consummated.

In 1483 *Maximilian* had a War with the *Liegeois*, which he brought to a happy Issue. This same Year *Hainault* owned him for Guardian of his Son *Philip*.

In 1484 the *Flemings* still persisting in refusing to acknowledge *Maximilian* for Guardian, appointed Governours for *Philip*, of whom *Adolphus de Cleves*,
Lord

Lord of *Ravenstein* was the Chief. Their Obstinacy occasioned between them and *Maximilian* a War, in which *Charles VIII* concerned himself by sending Succours to the *Flemings*.

This War was ended in *January* 1485, by a Treaty importing that the *Flemings* should acknowledge *Maximilian* for Guardian of his Son, upon the express Condition that he should not remove him out of *Flanders* till he was of Age. The Treaty being signed, *Maximilian* made his Entry into *Gaunt*, where a few Days after happened a Sedition; but it was luckily appeased. During the rest of the Year, the *Low-Countries* enjoyed Peace and Quiet enough to afford *Maximilian* Time to take a Trip to *Germany*, to get himself chosen King of the *Romans*. Let us now turn our Eyes a little to *Spain*.

Henry IV surnamed the *Impotent*, King of *Castile*, died in 1474, leaving only a Daughter called *Joanna*, whom all the World believed to be Supposititious. For which Reason *Isabella*, Sister to *Henry* and *Ferdinand* Prince of *Arragon* her Husband, took Possession of the Throne of *Castile*. They had a fierce War to carry on against *Alphonso* King of *Portugal*, who having been affianced to *Joanna* supposed Daughter of *Henry IV*, laid Claim to the Crown of *Castile*. This War ended in 1479, to the Advantage of *Ferdinand* and *Isabella*, who compelled *Alphonso* to give over his Pretensions. By the Treaty made upon this Occasion, it was agreed, that *Alphonso* Grandson of the King of *Portugal* should marry *Isabella* Daughter of *Ferdinand*, when the Parties should be of Age to consummate the Marriage.

John King of *Arragon* died this Year, leaving to *Ferdinand* his Son the Kingdom of *Arragon*, with a War to maintain against *France*, the Occasion whereof was this. King *John* had mortgaged to *Lewis XI*, *Roussillon* and *Cerdagne* for the Sum of three Hundred Thousand Crowns. Afterwards the Inhabitants of *Perpignan* revolted from the *French*, whose Dominion suited not with them. Upon this News *John* came to

1485.

to *Perpignan*, to try to persuade them to remain in Subjection to the *French*, till he should be able to redeem *Roussillon*, by paying off the Mortgage. But whilst he was labouring to bring them to Temper, *Lewis XI* caused the Place to be besieged, and *John* himself was shut up. The Siege lasted four Months, and at length *Ferdinand* Son of *John* being come to his Relief, constrained the *French* to retire. Shortly after *John* being gone from *Perpignan*, *Lewis* ordered the Place to be invested again, and took it after a long Siege. From that Time the King of *Arragon* pretended that the King of *France* ought to give up *Roussillon*, without receiving the Money lent, either on Account of the Expence he had been at in protecting his Subjects, or because the *French* had levied large Sums upon the mortgaged Countries. But the King of *France* did not think himself obliged to this Restitution, without he was paid the three Hundred Thousand Crowns he had lent.

In 1485 *Charles VIII* sent an Ambassador to *Ferdinand*, whom he refused to receive, unless he brought a positive Power to deliver up *Roussillon* and *Cerdagne*.

About the latter End of this Year, was born *Catharine* Daughter of *Ferdinand* and *Isabella*, who was afterwards Queen of *England*, and will have a great Share in this History. *Ferdinand* and *Isabella* had several other Children, namely, *Isabella* betrothed to the Prince of *Portugal*, *John* born 1477, and *Joanna* born in 1479.

*Affairs of
Scotland.
Buchanan.*

I shall close this Digression with the Affairs of *Scotland*. *James III* continued to govern his Kingdom with Oppression and Violence, without troubling himself much to win the Good-Will of his Subjects. I have before observed, that the Duke of *Albany* his Brother had surrendered *Dunbar* to the *English*, and that after the Death of *Edward IV* he was retired into *France*, where he ended his Days at a *Turnament*. Ever since that Time the *English* had kept Possession of that Place, though *Richard III* had promised to restore it. This Promise being unperformed when

Henry

Henry VII ascended the Throne of *England*, *James* resolved to recover *Dunbar* by Force of Arms. To that Purpose, about the End of this Year; or perhaps the Beginning of the next, he besieged the Town and carried it. The Season and the Affairs of Moment which *Henry* had upon his Hands in the Beginning of his Reign, permitted him not to prepare for its Relief.

1485.

Such was the Posture of the Affairs of the *States*, with whom *Henry VII* had any Thing to do during the Course of his Reign. It is Time now to return to our History.

How great an Aversion soever the King might have in his Mind for the *House of York*, he had too solemnly promised to marry the Princess *Elizabeth*, to be able to go from his Word. Besides, this Marriage was necessary to amuse the *English*, who still pleased themselves with the Thoughts that the King's Intention was to mix his *Title* with that of the *House of York*, notwithstanding the Precautions he had taken to hinder her from being mentioned in the *Act of Settlement*. The Nuptials were solemnized on the 18th of *January*, with much greater Demonstrations of Joy on the People's Part than on the King's. The People's Satisfaction appeared to be vastly beyond what they had showed on the Day of the King's Entry or Coronation. The which was a clear Evidence of the People's Affection for the *House of York*, and particularly for the Family of *Edward IV*. But that was not to be wondered at. The *House of Lancaster*, whereof there remained none but the Descendents of the *Female-Line*, had been forgot during the Reigns of the Kings of the *House of York*. Though *Henry* asserted his Descent from the *House of Lancaster*, every Body knew that he was Grandson to a *Welsh* Gentleman, and that his Mother sprung only from a Bastard of that *House*, whom the Credit of his Father, and the Circumstances of the Times had helped to be legitimated. As for the Princes and Princesses descended from the lawful Daughter of *John of Gaunt*,

1486.

The King's
Marriage.
Jan. 8.

1486. as they happened to be in *Portugal*, *Castile*, and *Aragon*, and were unknown in *England*, it was not at all strange that little Account was made of them. *Henry* was vexed to see the People's Joy on the Score of his Marriage. He plainly perceived that *Elizabeth* had a greater Share in it than himself, and that consequently they did not think him really King but in Right of his Queen. This Consideration inspired him with such a Coldness for her, that he never ceased giving her Marks of his Indifferency all the while she lived with him. He deferred her Coronation two whole Years, and no doubt would have done so for ever, if he had not thought it would have been prejudicial to him. It may be, he would even have dealt by her just as *Edward the Confessor* had formerly done by his Wife, Daughter of *Earl Goodwin*, had not the Desire of having Children caused him to overcome his Aversion. He had conceived so mortal a Hatred for the whole *House of York*, that he let slip no Opportunity to humble the *Yorkists*, behaving always towards them not as a just King, but like the Head of a Party. We shall see hereafter sundry Demonstrations of his ill Temper with respect to that *House*.

The King's
Coldness for
the Queen.

His mortal
Hatred to
the House
of York.

A three
Years
Truce with
France.
Act. Pub.
XII. 281.

The Day before the King's Wedding was solemnized at *London*, his Envoy at *Paris* had concluded with the Court of *France* a three Years Truce, which was to expire *January* the 17th 1488. *Charles VIII*, who began to form Projects against *Bretagne*, willingly consented to this Truce, that he might tie up the Hands of the King of *England*, and hinder him from assisting that Dukedom. On the other Hand, *Henry* who was ignorant of his Designs, believed it could not but turn to his Advantage to live in a good Understanding with that Monarch, because he thereby rendered himself more formidable to his Domestick Enemies, who could no longer hope for any Diversion from that Quarter.

The Earl of
Derby
made
High-
Constable.
March 5.

Shortly after the King made *Thomas Stanley* Earl of *Derby* High-Constable, and *William Stanley* his Brother Lord Chamberlain. These were the two Persons of

of the Kingdom the King was most obliged to, since they helped him to the Victory of *Bosworth*, which lifted him into the Throne. The Lord *D' Aubeney* was made Governor of *Calais* for seven Years.

1486,

Henry and *Elizabeth* being derived from the same stock, namely *Edward III.*, there had been occasion for a Dispensation to marry because they were Cousins in the Fourth Degree. It was the Bishop of *Imola*, Legate *a Latere* in *England* and *Scotland*, that had granted the Dispensation, by virtue of his Commission, which empowered him to grant that Favour to any Twelve Persons he should please. The King thought at first that this Dispensation was sufficient, and without farther Consideration had consummated his Marriage. Afterwards he began to reflect, that one might take occasion from hence to question the Validity of his Marriage, by affirming that a Power granted for Twelve Persons in general could not be extended to *Sovereigns*. To prevent therefore any such Objection, he desired *Innocent VIII.*, who then sat in the *Papal Chair*, to grant him a Dispensation immediately from himself, and peculiarly adapted to the Case in Hand. Whereupon the Pope ordered a *Bull* to be drawn up accordingly. But as this *Bull* was dated *March 13*, two Months after the Marriage, and without any mention of the Consummation or the Legate's Dispensation, *Henry* wished to have another, wherein these two Articles might be inserted; the which was granted him in *July* following. This shows plainly how careful he was to prevent his Enemies from having any Handle to give him Trouble. But the Precaution he took at the same Time, makes this appear still plainer.

Dispensation for the King's Marriage, March 10. P. 294.

Two more upon the same Account.

With the first Dispensation before-mentioned he received a *Bull* confirming the *Act of Succession* made by the Parliament. The Pope sat forth, " That he had heard, although the Crown of *England* was fallen to *Henry*, not only by *Conquest* and an unquestionable Hereditary Right, but moreover by the unanimous Consent of the Nobles and People, and by

The Bull confirming the Act of Settlement. Mar. 27. Act. Pub. XII. 297.

1486.

“ an Act of Parliament; and though undoubtedly
 “ and rightfully it belonged to him and the Heirs of
 “ his Body, nevertheless, to put an End to the Trou-
 “ bles which had long distracted the Kingdom, he was
 “ desirous to marry *Elizabeth of York*, eldest Daugh-
 “ ter and Heir of King *Edward IV.* of glorious Me-
 “ mory: That therefore having considered with his
 “ Brothers the Cardinals, this his Intention in the Spi-
 “ rit of Charity, he had granted the Dispensation ne-
 “ cessary for the said Marriage, and pronounced the
 “ Children that should be born of it lawful and capa-
 “ ble of succeeding to their Father and Mother:
 “ That he had granted this Favour, not at the Re-
 “ quest of *Henry* or *Elizabeth*, or of any other in their
 “ Name, but of his own Motion, certain Knowledge,
 “ and pure Generosity, as it was more largely expressed
 “ in the Letters of Dispensation, to which he gave the
 “ same Force as if they were inserted Word for Word
 “ in these Presents: That therefore he decreed, de-
 “ clared and pronounced lawful the Succession of the
 “ Children issuing from this Marriage, and confirmed
 “ the Act of Parliament touching King *Henry's*
 “ Title, and the Succession of his Children, supply-
 “ ing by his Apostolical Authority all Defects that
 “ might any ways occur therein.

“ That of his own Motion and by his Authority he
 “ admonished and required all the People of *England*,
 “ and all the Subjects of King *Henry* of what Rank
 “ soever, to obey that Prince, and expressly forbid
 “ them to raise Disturbances about the Succession, or
 “ upon any other Account whatever, or to infringe
 “ in any manner the Dispensation, Declaration, and
 “ Act of Parliament.

“ That he pronounced *ipso facto* excommunicate
 “ all Persons that should raise any such Disturbances,
 “ or infringe the foresaid Letters and Acts, not to be
 “ absolved but by the *Holy See*, or by such as should
 “ be empowered by her, unless at the Point of Death:

“ That

“ That if *Elizabeth* should happen to die before
 “ *Henry* without having any Issue, he decreed, agree- 1486,
 “ ably to the foresaid Act of Parliament and Confir-
 “ mation, that the Children of *Henry* by any other
 “ lawful Wife should succeed him by Hereditary
 “ Right, pronouncing excommunicate as above, all
 “ Persons that should oppose the Succession of his
 “ Issue. Granting on the contrary his Benediction
 “ and plenary Indulgence for all their Sins, to those
 “ that should in that case assist *Henry* or his Progeny.
 “ Moreover, he enjoined all Archbishops, Bishops,
 “ Abbots, Deans, Archdeacons, Curates, Rectors,
 “ Priors and Superiors of Monasteries, upon the Pe-
 “ nalties expressed in the holy *Canons*, to excommuni-
 “ cate publickly, and to pronounce excommunicate
 “ every time they should be required, all Persons that
 “ should breed any Disturbances upon this Account,
 “ or should oppose in any manner whatever the Exe-
 “ cution of the said *Acts*, notwithstanding all Con-
 “ stitutions and Ordinances Apostolical to the con-
 “ trary, &c.”.

Nothing is a better Evidence how much *Henry* *Remarks*
 himself was convinced of the Weakness of his Title, *on this*
 than the Precaution he took to get it confirmed by *Bull.*
 the Pope. This Precaution was not only needless,
 but even unlawful, seeing it ran counter to the *Statutes*
 of *Præmunire*, which the *English* were so jealous of.
 Accordingly he had taken care to have it said in the
Bull, that the Pope granted the Dispensation of his
 own Motion, and without any previous Request, a
Clause false to a Demonstration. It is certain that the
Bull of Dispensation ran in express Terms, that the
 Pope granted it upon what had been represented to him
 by *Henry* and *Elizabeth*. Besides, what the Pope af-
 firmed, that the Crown of *England* was fallen to *Henry*
 by *Hereditary Right*, that Heap and Mixture of other
Titles, namely, *the Consent of the Nobles and People*,
the Act of Parliament, *the King's Marriage with Eliza-*
beth, all this, I say, tallied so exactly with the Un-
 certainty *Henry* was under as to his *Title*, that doubt-

1486.

less it proceeded not from the Pope's own Knowledge, but rather from the King himself, who had as it were dictated how the *Bull* should be worded. In fine, the Pope would never have taken it into his Head to confirm an *Act* of Settlement, if he had not been requested. But it was by no means convenient that the King should appear to have desired such a *Bull*, since nothing could be more disagreeable to the *English*. For having made such a Step, even before the *Statute of Præmunire* was enacted, King *John* entirely lost the Affection and Confidence of his Barons, together with the Crown which he would have secured by that Expedient. *Henry III.* was upon the Point of undergoing the same Fate, for having taken some Precautions of this Nature. Accordingly we shall see hereafter that this *Bull* was not capable of hindering but that the King was frequently molested. The *English* were not as in former Days such *Bigots*, as to imagine that the Pope's Authority was able to give *Henry* a Title which he really had not.

The King's
Uneasiness
with regard
to the House
of York.

Though the King had happily attained to his Ends, with respect to the *Act* of Settlement and Succession, yet was he not ignorant that what the Parliament had done was not agreeable to the Sentiments of the People. He had been called into *England* to deliver the Nation from the Tyranny of *Richard III.* and not to dispossess entirely the *House of York*. This is so true, that in case the *Yorkists* had not sided with him with a View to preserve the Crown in that *House*, by the Means of his Marriage with *Elizabeth*, the *Lancastrians* would never have been able to lift him into the Throne. The Queen, Widow of *Edward IV.* the Duke of *Buckingham*, the Lord *Stanley*, were not Friends to the *House of Lancaster*, though private Enemies to the Person of *Richard*. To these however it was that *Henry* was chiefly beholding for his Greatness. If the People had been consulted, and had it in their Power to chuse a Sovereign, *Richard III.* indeed would have been removed: but then *Elizabeth* would have been placed on the Throne, and the Earl of *Richmond* left in

in his Exile in *Bretagne*. Henry therefore was looked upon only as the Instrument of their Deliverance from the Dominion of a Tyrant. But as it was reasonable to make him a Return, they thought they should do him a great Favour in giving him a Share of the Royal Dignity, by the Means of his Marriage with the Princess *Elizabeth*. And if they were desirous that the Right he could derive from *the House of Lancaster* should be united with that of *Elizabeth*, it was rather to avoid fresh Commotions by that Expedient, than out of a Belief of the Goodness of his Title. He had himself gladly closed with the Expedient, and upon that Foundation it was that he formed his Enterprize; otherwise he would have doubtless met with less Assistance and much greater Opposition. But he had no sooner won the Battle of *Bosworth*, but he laid the Scheme of reigning in his own Right only, and of excluding entirely the *House of York*; wherein he deceived the Expectation of the *English* and abused their Confidence. This is what he had always in his Thoughts, though he concealed his Uneasiness upon that Score with all possible Care.

The Northern Counties abounding most with the Friends of the *House of York*, Henry resolved to take a Progress into those Parts. He was in hopes that his Presence, backed with some Favours which he might have occasion to dispense, would set all to Rights there. With this view he set out towards the middle of the Spring, and went and kept his *Easter* at *Lincoln*. During his Stay in that City, he heard that the Lord *Lovel*, one of *Richard the Third's* Favourites, *Humphrey* and *Thomas Stafford* Brothers, who had refused to accept of the general Pardon, had quitted their Sanctuaries, and were gone no body knew whither. As he was ignorant what their Design could be, he pursued his Journey and came to *York*. Shortly after he received more certain Intelligence concerning the Fugitives. He had Notice that the Lord *Lovel* was advancing towards *York* at the Head of Three or Four Thousand Men, and that the *Staffords* were in Arms

The King's Progress into the North.

Rebellion of the Lord Lovel and the two Staffords.

The King is at a great Loss as York.

1487. Arms in *Worcestershire* before the City of *Worcester*. This News gave him no small Uneasiness. He saw himself in that Part of the Kingdom where he knew he was not beloved, and where it was no easy Matter to raise Forces. Besides, he had ground to fear that the Lord *Lovel* had Friends in *York*, and among the Noblemen of the *County*. Consequently he had no time to lose. He must resolve out of Hand either to quit *York*, or take some Method to oppose the Rebels. In this Strait he chose to set a good Face upon the Matter, well-knowing that turning his Back could not but be of very ill Consequence. So, without showing any Signs of Fear, he armed such of his Followers as were fittest to bear Arms, and commissioned some trusty Friends to raise Men in and about *York* with all the Expedition possible. He was so lucky and so well served, as to get together in a short Time Three Thousand Men, of whom he gave the Command to his Uncle the Duke of *Bedford*. But these Troops were so ill-provided with Arms, and in such bad state, that there was no great Dependance upon them. Besides, they were raised in a Country where the Inhabitants were not well-affected to the King. For this Reason *Henry* expressly charged the Duke of *Bedford* to avoid fighting if possible, till he should be reinforced, but however to appear unconcerned, and to proclaim in his Name Pardon to all that would lay down their Arms. This Precaution succeeded to his Wish. The Duke of *Bedford* approaching the Malecontents, ordered the Proclamation to be published in Terms which expressed a great Superiority and Confidence. However, it had but little Effect on the Rebels. But the Lord *Lovel* who commanded them, being apprehensive they would accept of the Pardon offered them, forsook them first. He went off all alone, and hid himself in *Lancashire* at his Friend Sir *Thomas Broughton's*, and shortly after passed over into *Flanders* to the Dutchess Dowager of *Burgundy*. His Army being without a Leader, submitted to the King's Mercy. The *Staffords*, who were besieging *Worcester*,

He raises
some Troops.

The Duke
of Bedford
disper/es the
Rebels.

Lovel flies.

Worcester,

Worcester, hearing what had passed in the *North*, raised the Siege, and abandoning their Troops, took Sanctuary in the Church of *Colnham*, a little Village [near *Abington*]. But that Church enjoying no peculiar Privilege, it was judged in the Court of *King's Bench* that it could not afford Protection to Traitors. So the two Brothers being taken thence by force, *Humphrey* the eldest was sent to *London* to be executed at *Tyburn*: but *Thomas*, as being drawn in by his Brother, was pardoned. This Rebellion, the first that broke out in this Reign, was like a Blaze which lasted not long. It was quenched with the Blood of one single Person. We shall see hereafter others which cost the King more to extinguish the Flames.

One of the
Staffords
executed.

On the 3d of *July* the Scotch Ambassadors, who had been some time at *London*, concluded a Truce with *Henry*, which was to end that Day three Years.

A& Pub.
XII. 285.

Cardinal *Bourchier* Archbishop of *Canterbury* died much about this Time. The King, having a Mind to procure the Archbishoprick for Dr. *Morton* Bishop of *Ely*, committed it to his Care during the Vacancy, thereby making known his Intention that no other Bishop might put in for it. Accordingly *Morton* was elected some time after; but he received not the Pope's Bull till *December*.

Death of
Cardinal
Bourchier.
Morton
succeeds
him.

July the 22d, *John de Boteler*, Lord de *Mauvertuis*, Ambassador of *Francis II.* Duke of *Bretagne*, concluded at *London* with the King a Truce, or rather prolonged the former Truce, which still subsisted between *England* and *Bretagne*, till the Death of one of the two Princes. But the Trade between the two Nations, which was settled by several Articles of this Treaty, was to last till the Death of the longest liver.

Truce pro-
longed with
Bretagne.

September the 20th the Queen was brought to bed of a Prince, though she was but Eight Months gone with Child. The King was pleased the new-born Prince should be called *Arthur*, in Memory of the famous *British* Monarch; from whom he would fain have made it believed he was derived. The Family of the *Tudors* being

Birth of
Prince Ar-
thur.

1486.

being *British* or *Welsh*, it is not very unlikely that *Henry* designed by naming his Son *Arthur*, to insinuate that he was descended of that illustrious Monarch. Nevertheless it is certain, that it was not till after the Time I am now speaking of, that this Report was spread about, and that *Genealogies* were forged to countenance it. Those who governed the State during *Henry the Sixth's* Minority, were far enough from being of this Opinion, since upon the Death of *Catherine of France*, Mother of that Prince, they ordered *Owen Tudor* Grandfather of *Henry VII* to be sent to the *Tower* for having presumed to marry that Princess. Some even affirm that he was beheaded.

Murmurs
of the Peo-
ple.

The Steps the King had made to deprive the *House of York* of their Rights, had very much disgusted the People, who had expected quite another Thing. They that brought in *Henry* had been in Hopes that the *Titles* of the two *Houses* being united by his Marriage with *Elizabeth*, there would no longer be any Distinction between the *Yorkists* and *Lancastrians*, but that all might equally expect the Places which were in the King's Disposal. These Hopes were further confirmed by the Birth of Prince *Arthur*, who united in his Person the *litigious* Claims of the two *Houses*. But People saw to their great Grief, that the King still looked upon the *House of York* as Rivals and Enemies, and that his Jealousy reached to the Queen herself, whose Interest should have been as dear to him as his own. The Truth is, not contented with showing by his continual Coldness, and by several Mortifications which he made her suffer, the little Kindness he had for her, he had given her a very sensible Mark of it, in refusing to have her crowned, as if she had been unworthy to sit on the Throne with him. And even since she had brought him a Son, her Coronation was no more talked of than when she was first married. It was impossible but that this Partiality should breed a great deal of ill Blood in the *Yorkists*, who were much more numerous than the *Lancastrians*.

This

This Discontent being almost universal, some malicious Persons spread a Report, that the King intended to make away with the Earl of *Warwick*, then Prisoner in the *Tower*, and sole Male-Relict of the *House of York*. There is no Question that their Design was to compare *Henry* with *Richard III*, who had taken away the Lives of his two Nephews to secure the Crown, and to let People see that in changing King, they had only received one Tyrant instead of another. Moreover it was pretty openly given out, that one of *Edward the Fourth's* Sons was still alive, having as it were miraculously escaped his Uncle's Cruelty. All this plainly tended to found the People's Inclinations. The King himself, whether he was the Author of this Rumour, as his Historian affirms, or whether he only fomented it, was not sorry that the People should run after a *Phantome*, whilst it took them off from too firmly adhering to the Persons of the *House of York* which were really in Being. Mean while the Eagerness wherewith the People swallowed this false Report, was a clear Evidence enough how ready they would be to side against the King, in Case a fair Opportunity offered. The which also gave Occasion to the Project I am about to speak of.

A certain Priest at *Oxford*, one *Richard Simon*, perceiving the People's Joy at the false Report of one of *Edward the Fourth's* Sons being alive, took it into his Head to put upon the World for *Richard Duke of York* Brother of *Edward V*, a young Man, one *Lambert Simnel* a Baker's Son, whom he trained up, and who seemed to him proper to play such a Part. He was much about the Duke of *York's* Age, of good natural Parts, and in all his Behaviour had something Grand, and above one of his Birth. *Simon* had hardly begun instructing his Pupil, when another Rumour was spread, that the Earl of *Warwick* had made his Escape out of the *Tower*. This News, though false, raised among the People so general a Joy, that the Priest thought best to alter his Project, and make *Simnel* pass for the Earl of *Warwick*. *Simnel's* Age

1486.
Tis rumoured
that the
King de-
signed to
put *War-
wick* to
Death.

and that
one of *Ed-
ward's*
Sons was
alive.

Project of a
Priest.

He makes
Simnel
pass for the
Earl of
Warwick.

1486.

agreed better with the Earl's, and the Circumstances of his Escape was pat to his Purpose. To this End it was necessary to instruct his Pupil thoroughly, since he was not to personate a Person taken out of his Cradle and concealed in some private Place, but a Prince well known and bred up in the Court of *Edward IV.* The Earl was about twelve Years old when *Richard III* had him confined. *Simnel* therefore was to understand how to talk pertinently of *Edward's* Court, and to know particularly the Lords and Ladies that frequented it, as well as the King and Queen. This makes it presumed that the Priest was himself instructed by Persons who had perfect Knowledge of these Things, and that the Plot was suggested to him. And indeed, supposing he had been bold enough to form such a Design, there is no likelihood that he could instruct his Pupil in many Particulars which of Necessity he was to know. At least it is certain, the King imagined that the Queen his Mother-in-law, and other Friends of the *House of York*, were the real Authors of this Contrivance, and only made use of the Priest as an Instrument to put their Designs in Execution. The Queen Dowager had a very plotting Head. She it was that had set on Foot the Project in Favour of the King when he was in *Bretagne*, and thereby shown the Credit she had with the *Yorkists*. Besides she could not but be very much displeased at the King's Coldness to her Daughter, and at his refusing to have her crowned. This alone was enough to make the King suspect her. But it may be, there was more than bare Suspicions.

*The King
suspects the
Queen
Dowager.*

*The Priest
carries
Simnel in-
to Ireland.*

Be that as it will, *Simon*, or those that sat him at work, not thinking proper to let *Simnel* appear first in *England*, where he might be examined too closely, and by Persons too well instructed in Matters, judged it best that he should go and act his first Scene in *Ireland*, where *Simon* the Priest accompanied him. In all Appearance, some Measures had been already taken for his good Reception in that Country. Since *Henry's* Accession to the Throne, he had very much neglected

neglected the Affairs of *Ireland*, deeming that as he was Master in *England*, he need not fear the *Irish*. Indeed he had made the Duke of *Bedford* Lord Lieutenant of that Kingdom, in the room of the Earl of *Lincoln* Nephew of *Richard III*, but he had continued the same Deputy, the same Chancellors, and all the rest of the Officers put in by *Richard*. So the Duke of *Bedford* being still in *England*, *Thomas Fitz-Gerald* Earl of *Kildare*, commanded in *Ireland* as Deputy, and his Brother was Chancellor *.

It is more than probable that the Earl of *Kildare* had a Hand in the Plot, and had even begun to take Measures to get *Lambert Simnel* the pretended Earl of *Warwick* owned for King in *Ireland*. Ever since June last, *Henry* had notice that something was hatching against him in that Country, though he knew not what it was. Upon this Information, he sent for the Deputy to Court; but the Earl had found Means to get the Council of *Ireland* to write to him, that the Deputy's Presence was absolutely necessary in the Island. *Simnel* being come to *Dublin*, went to the Earl of *Kildare* as Earl of *Warwick*, and informed him how he had made his Escape out of the Tower. If the Earl of *Kildare* had not been in the Plot, or at least had not wished well to it, he would without Dispute have seized the Pretender. It was his Duty as he commanded *Ireland* in the King's Name. But instead of taking that Course, he left him at Liberty, and ordered it so, with the Help of his Brother the Chancellor, that the Arrival of the pretended Earl of *Warwick* was made known, without their being seen in the Matter. They waited to know, first, how the People would be affected with the News. The Impression it made upon them was so great and so sudden as the Authors of the Plot could desire. As soon as it was known in *Dublin* that the Earl of *Warwick* was arrived, the People gave such Demonstrations of Joy, that the Depu-

* Sir *James Ware* says, the Earl was called *Gerald Fitz-Gerald*, and the Chancellor, *Thomas*.

1486.

ty and Chancellor believed they should run no Hazard in acknowledging the Pretender. Wherefore, having conferred with their Friends and Confidents, they went in a solemn Manner to wait upon him at his Lodging, and conducted him with great Pomp to the Castle, where they treated him like a Prince. *Simnel* received the Respect that was paid him without being dashed out of Countenance, or doing any Thing that betrayed the Meaness of his Birth. In a few Days he was proclaimed in *Dublin* King of *England*, and Lord of *Ireland*, by the Name of *Edward VI.* The *Irish* never troubled themselves about the *Attainder* of the Duke of *Clarence* his pretended Father, having newly learnt by the Example of *Henry* himself, that the Advancement to the Throne wipes off all Defects.

The King is
at a Loss.

The News of so unexpected an Event made the King very uneasy. He saw himself attacked in that Part which he was most apprehensive of, namely, his *Title*, the Goodness of which he was not himself over-convinced of. Indeed, the Victory of *Bosworth* had given him an Opportunity to decide the Matter in his own Favour. But he was very sensible that in Case the *Titles* of the two *Houses* should come once more to be put in the Balance, he would stand in need of a second Victory to confirm his, and that the *House of York* would have Arguments enough and to spare, if their Affairs took a better Turn. In the next Place, *Ireland*, where the pretended Earl of *Warwick* was gone, was a Country wholly devoted to the *House of York*, and consequently it was no easy Task to attack the Rebels there. To that Purpose, it was necessary to lead thither a powerful Army, the which could not be done without immense Charge. In fine, it was to be feared, that the Flames which began to break out in *Ireland*, would reach *England*, and that there was a private good Understanding between the *Irish* and *English*. In this Streight he called a Council together of his most intimate Friends, secretly to consult with them about what was to be done in the present Emergency.

A secret
Council.

emergency. It is to be presumed, he gave them to understand, that the Queen Dowager his Mother-in-law had raised this Storm, whether he had some Proof of it, or it was only a Suspicion which he believed well founded.

Be that as it will, presently after the holding this Council, he ordered his Mother-in-law to be apprehended and confined to the Monastery of *Bermondsey* in *Southwark*.] Moreover he seized all her Estate which was very considerable. But as he did not care to let the Publick know the Reason of this rigorous Usage, not being able perhaps to bring sufficient Proof of her Crime, he caused it to be given out, that he was thus punished for having delivered the Princesses her Daughters into the Hands of *Richard III*. This Pretence made the People exclaim the more against what he had done. They could not help thinking it very strange, that the Queen Dowager should be so severely punished for a Fault which might rather be deemed an Effect of Weakness than of ill Design. In the next Place, they could not conceive why the King had so long neglected to inquire into this pretended Crime. In the third Place, seeing he had married her Daughter, he seemed to have owned that she was Innocent, or at least that he had forgiven her Fault. Lastly, as all the World knew she had been one of the main Instruments to help him to the Crown, they could not but abhor his Ingratitude. They imagined they saw in this severe Usage, a settled Design to use all Pretences to compleat the Ruin of the *House of York* and its Friends. But it was not only Compassion for the Queen's Sufferings, which gave rise to these Reflections; her Example struck Terror into all the Kingdom, there being very few Families but what were guilty, either of having assisted *Richard III*, or of not having opposed him. When it was considered therefore, that the King's Mother-in-law was reduced to so wretched a Case, for not having been willing or able to withstand the Tyranny of the late King, every one was afraid he should be called to Account for the

Henry con-
fines his
Mother-in-
law to a
Monastery,
and seizes
her Estates.

1486. the like Crimes, which were supposed to be buried in
She dies in Oblivion. Notwithstanding all this the Queen Dow-
Confinement. ager was confined to the Day of her Death, which
 happened not till some Years after *.

*The Earl of
 Warwick
 is shown in
 Publick.*

'Twas thought at first that the Queen Dowager's Misfortune proceeded from the Cause the King had taken Care to publish. But it was not long before it was perceived that her Treatment was an Effect of the Decrees of the secret Council which the King had called upon *Simnel's* Affair. Shortly after, pursuant to another Resolve of the same Council, the King ordered the true Earl of *Warwick* to be shown in publick, who accordingly was brought through the principal Streets of *London*, and then conducted in solemn *Procession* to *St. Paul's*, where a world of People were come together to see him. There every Body had Time to view him well. And he was made to hold Discourse with those that knew him best, and particularly with such as were known to be well affected to the *House of York*; which done, he was carried back to the *Tower*. But the *Irish* maintained, that the Earl of *Warwick* which had been shown at *London* was a Cheat, and that theirs at *Dublin* was the true Earl. They took Occasion also from hence to exclaim against the King for prostituting the Ceremony of a *Procession* to such a Sham. The King fearing the Mischief would gain Ground, thought to put a stop to it, by proclaiming a *General Pardon* to all that should quit the Rebels, and by promising a Reward to those that should discover the secret of the Plot. At the same Time he sent Orders to Guard the *Ports*, that the Male-Contents of *England* might not go over and join their Friends in *Ireland*. But all this was not capable to break the Measures of his Enemies.

It

* She was buried at *Windsor*, by her Husband King *Edward IV.* She completed the Founding of *Queen's College* in *Cambridge*, begun by *Margaret* King *Henry IV's* Queen.

It was not in *Ireland* only that Work was cutting out for him. The Readiness wherewith some *English* Lords and Gentlemen embraced this Opportunity to bring about his Ruin, plainly showed that the Conspiracy had been laid some Time before in *England*. The Truth is, there is no great likelihood that a single Priest should have formed such a Project, without having imparted it to Persons better able than himself to put it in Execution. Be that as it will, *John* Earl of *Lincoln*, whom *Richard* III his Uncle had declared Heir-Apparent of the Crown, was the first that appeared openly to maintain the Interest of the pretended Earl of *Warwick*. He was Son of *John de la Pole* Earl of *Suffolk*, and *Elizabeth* Sister of *Edward* IV and *Richard* III. This Earl however seemed to act contrary to his own Interest in taking the Earl of *Warwick's* Part, who was nearer the Throne than himself. But as in all Appearance he was not ignorant that the Person in *Ireland* was a Cheat, he did not question but that he should easily remove him out of the Way, when he had made him his Tool to dethrone *Henry*. Wherefore, upon the first News of *Simnel's* being received and proclaimed King at *Dublin*, he embarked for *Flanders*, to go and concert with the Dutches Dowager of *Burgundy*, the Means to bring the Undertaking to a happy Issue.

1486.
The Earl of
Lincoln
goes over to
the Dutches
of *Bur-*
gundy.

Since the Death of *Charles* Duke of *Burgundy*, *Margaret* of *York* his Widow, Sister of *Edward* IV and *Richard* III, lived in *Flanders* where her Dowry was assigned her. As she had no Children by the Duke her Husband, she laid out all her Pains and Care in the Education of the Archduke *Philip*, Son of *Maximilian* of *Austria*, and *Maria* of *Burgundy* her Mother-in-law. It was not without extreme Concern that she had seen the Revolution which had restored the House of *Lancaster* to the Throne, in prejudice to the House of *York*. She would however have taken it patiently, if *Henry* VII in uniting the two Houses by his Marriage with *Elizabeth*, had held the Balance even, and dispensed his Favours with an impartial

Disposition
of the
Dutches
with regard
to the King.

Hand

1486.

Hand to the Friends of both Parties. But she altered her Mind, when she saw that *Henry* had delayed marrying her Niece till such Time as the Crown was adjudged to himself, without any Mixture of the *Title* of the *House of York*. She could not but grieve to see that even after his Marriage, he refused to let *Elizabeth* be crowned, an Honour no Queen of *England* had been debarred of, since the *Conquest*; and that the Birth of a Son had not been capable to bring him to do her that Justice. Finding therefore that his Hatred of the whole *House of York* was implacable, she did not think herself obliged to have any great Regard for him. On the contrary, she believed she might without Scruple work out his Ruin. Indeed, it is uncertain whether this Princess was concerned in the Priest's and *Simnel's* Plot, before *Ireland* had declared for him. It is however very likely that she had helped to carry on the Intrigue, together with the Queen Dowager, the Earl of *Lincoln*, and some other Friends of the *House of York*. The Truth is, the Earl of *Lincoln's* going to *Flanders*, upon the first News of *Simnel's* Arrival in *Ireland*, gives Ground to presume that he held private Intelligence with the Dutchess of *Burgundy*, and that it was from her that he expected the Success of the Enterprize. The Lord *Lovel* who was in *Flanders* before him, was likewise in the Plot as well as Sir *Thomas Broughton*, who staid in *England* to send them notice of what was doing there.

She promises to assist the Earl of *Lincoln*.

Whether the Dutchess of *Burgundy* had contrived this Plot herself, or whether she was only informed of it by the Earl of *Lincoln*, she boggled not to lay hold of this Opportunity, which in her Opinion afforded a Prospect of being able to unhinge *Henry's* Establishment. Having advised with the Earl of *Lincoln*, the Lord *Lovel*, and some other *Fugitives*, she promised to furnish them with two Thousand veteran German Soldiers, under the Command of *Martin Swart* an Officer of note, with whom they should pass into *Ireland*, to strengthen the new King's Party. She did not at all doubt but these Succours coming from a foreign

foreign Country would encourage the *Yorkists* to take up Arms in *England*. In this Situation were the King's Affairs about the latter End of the Year 1486. But before we proceed to the Occurrences of the next Year, we must just see what had passed in the neighbouring States, especially in *France* and *Bretagne* during the Course of this Year.

1486,

I left the Duke of *Orleans* in *Bretagne* with the Prince of *Orange* and the Earl of *Dunois*. These Princes were no sooner in that Country, but several of their Friends came and joined them, and moreover brought them some Troops. The Duke of *Bretagne* was old and infirm both in Body and Mind. Since the Death of *Lan- dais* he did not know who to trust with the Administration of his Affairs, not being able to look upon his Barons but as so many Enemies, though he had granted them a *Pardon*. The Duke of *Orleans* finding him in this State, gained such an Ascendent over him, that he governed *Bretagne* just as if he had been the Sovereign. The Advantages he enjoyed in that Country, where almost every Thing was in his Disposal, drew thither abundance of *Frenchmen*, who came and offered him their Service. Mean while the Duke of *Bretagne* assembled the States, and got his eldest Daughter *Ann* to be declared *Heiress* of the Dutchy; and in case she died without Issue, it was decreed that her younger Sister *Isabel* should succeed her.

Affairs of
Bretagne.

The Lords of *Bretagne* newly reconciled to their Sovereign, perceiving that the Duke of *Orleans* ruled with an absolute Sway in the Duke's Name, and that the *French* flocked to him in Crowds, began to entertain a Jealousy of their Prince. They were afraid that he sent for all these Strangers on purpose to help him to be revenged of them for their Outrage upon his Favourite. In this Belief they met together at *Chateaubriant* to consult what was to be done to prevent the Danger they were apprehensive of. They were headed by the Lord of *Rieum* Marshal of *Bretagne*. Charles VIII, who was under an Apprehension that the Duke of *Orleans* intended to make use of the

1486.

Duke of *Bretagne's* Forces to raise fresh Commotions in *France*, thought it for his Interest to foment the *British* Lords Discontents. He hoped by that to embroil the Duke of *Bretagne* so, as to hinder him from assisting the Duke of *Orleans*. With this View it was that he sent to the Barons assembled at *Chateaubriant*, *Andrew d'Epina*y commonly called the *Cardinal* of *Bourdeaux*, with an Offer of his Protection. The Offer was gladly embraced by many of them, some of whom it may be were won before-hand by the Court of *France*. Others, foreseeing the Inconveniencies that might follow, were for rejecting the Offer. They alledged the several Attempts *Charles's* Predecessors had made to become Master of *Bretagne*, and how hazardous it was to let the *French* into the Country. In fine, to prevent this Mischiefe, it was agreed that a Treaty should be made with the King of *France*, to settle the Number of Men he should find them, and to set Bounds to his Pretensions. Pursuant to this Resolve, they signed with the *Cardinal* a Treaty, importing, that the King should not aid them with above Four Hundred *Lances* and Four Thousand *Foot*; that he should not take or besiege any Place, neither should he make any Demands upon the *Dutchy* before Duke *Francis's* Death. *Charles* ratified the Treaty, but without design to keep it, as he plainly made appear afterwards.

The *Cardinal* of *Bourdeaux* being come back to the King, acquainted him, that during his Stay at *Chateaubriant*, he had learnt that the Prince of *Orange* was secretly treating about a Match between *Maximilian* of *Austria*, and *Ann*, eldest Daughter and Heiress of the Duke of *Bretagne*. This Discovery put King *Charles* upon forming the Project of seizing upon *Bretagne*, if it was not perhaps quite formed already. The Posture of the Affairs of *Europe* was exceeding favourable to him. *Ferdinand* and *Isabella* King and Queen of *Arragon* and *Castile* were but little concerned for the Preservation of *Bretagne*. Besides, they were then taken up with their War against the *Moors* of *Grenada*.

Grenada. But supposing *Charles* had reason to fear that *Ferdinand* would enter into some League for the Defence of the Duke of *Bretagne*, he had an infallible way to keep him from it: And that was to give him up *Roussillon*, which was of much less Consequence than *Bretagne* to the Crown of *France*. *Henry VII*, whose Interest it plainly was to oppose this Enterprize, had his Hands so full at home, that in all likelihood he would not be able to look abroad. It was just at the very Time when the pretended Earl of *Warwick* began to appear in *Ireland*. As for the *Low-Countries*, *Charles* had not much to fear from that Quarter. *Philip* their Sovereign was still in his Minority. *Maximilian* his Father and Guardian, who governed those Provinces in his Name, was but little regarded there. Though he had made Peace with the *Flemings*, there was however a mutual Distrust on both Sides, which would not suffer him to send his Forces out of the Country. Besides, the War with *France* was renewed this Year, on account of *Terouenne*, which the Governor of *Douay* had taken by Surprize in the midst of Peace. In short, though *Maximilian* was Son of the Emperor, and had been chosen *King of the Romans* in the Month of *February* this Year, he was for all that in extreme want of Money, his new Dignity having made no Addition to his Power.

1486.

In the Beginning of the Year 1487, *Henry* concluded with *Maximilian* a Treaty wholly relating to Trade, and which was only provisional, till certain Articles could be settled, about which the *English* and *Flemings* had much ado to agree. The Trade between *England* and the *Low-Countries* was so necessary for the Subjects of both Princes, that it could not be interrupted without both Sides being Sufferers. But for that very Reason each strove to take Advantage of the Posture of Affairs, and by that means the Treaties of Commerce were clogged with Difficulties.

1487.
Treaty of
Commerce
with the
Low-Coun-
tries,
Jan. 2.
Act. Pub.
XII. 320.

The Bishop of *Exeter* being translated to *Winchester*, the King promoted to the vacant See *Richard Fox*, who was already Keeper of the Privy-Seal. Of all the

*Fox is made
Bishop of
Exeter,
P. 323.*

Courtiers he was the Person in whom the King placed the most Confidence, next to the Archbishop of *Canterbury*.

The King
takes Mea-
sures to op-
pose his
Enemies.

Mean while *Henry* was not easy, since the Earl of *Lincoln* was gone into *Flanders*. He knew the Dutch-
ess of *Burgundy* to be a high-spirited and enterprising Princess, and powerful enough to assist such as should have a mind to give him Disturbance. The Earl of *Lincoln's* withdrawing into *Flanders* presently after *Simnel's* Arrival in *Ireland*, left him no room to ques-
tion but there was a Design formed between the Earl and the Dutchess of *Burgundy* to support the pretend-
ed Earl of *Warwick*. So fearing the Storm would di-
vide and fall upon him both from *Flanders* and *Ireland*, he resolved to put two Armies on Foot, under the
Command of the Duke of *Bedford* and the Earl of *Oxford*; that he might be ready at the same Time to
oppose the Descent of the *Flemish* and *Irish*, if they should think of coming to invade *England*. Mean
while, as he was not afraid of an Invasion before the
Summer, he was pleased to improve the Leisure the
Winter Season afforded him, by taking a Progress in-
to the *Eastern* Counties of *Suffolk* and *Norfolk*. He
had the most to fear from those Parts, by reason of
the Neighbourhood of the *Low-Countries*. When he
was come to *St. Edmundsbury*, he heard that the Mar-
quis of *Dorset* was coming to wait upon him in order
to clear himself of some Imputations laid to his Charge,
and to make an Offer of his Service. But the King be-
lieving that after what he had lately done to the Queen
Dowager, the Marquis her Brother could have no
great Affection for him, refused to receive him, and
sent the Earl of *Oxford* to meet him, with Orders to
carry him to the *Tower*. He let him know however,
that after the Troubles were over he should willingly
give him a Hearing, and if he caused him to be ar-
rested, it was purely to provide for his own Safety, by
preventing his being drawn aside by those that might
give him ill Advice. Then he came to *Norwich*, from
whence

He visits
Nortolk
and Suf-
folk.

whence he went in Pilgrimage to our *Lady of Walsingham**; which done, he returned to *London*.

1487.
He retires
to London.
The Earl of

It was not till the Beginning of the Month of *May* that the Earl of *Lincoln*, the Lord *Lovel*, and *Martin Swart* set sail for *Ireland*, with the Two Thousand *Germans* the Dutchess of *Burgundy* had raised at her own Expence. Presently after their Arrival at *Dublin*, they proceeded to the Coronation of the pretended King, which was performed with great Solemnity, in the Presence of the Earl of *Kildare*, the *Chancellor*, and the rest of the great Officers. They made use of a Crown taken from the Head of the *Virgin Mary's* Statue in *St. Mary's Church*. There were but two or three Bishops that refused to acknowledge the new King. The History of *Ireland* says, that the pretended Sovereign summoned a kind of Parliament wherein the *Clergy* granted the Pope a *Subsidy*, for fear the Court of *Rome* should take Occasion from these Proceedings to give them Trouble.

Lincoln
arrives in
Ireland,
May.
Simnel is
crowned at
Dublin.
J. Ware.

Hist. Irel.

The Coronation being over, a great Council was held to consult what was to be done next. Their Success in *Ireland*, where not a Sword was drawn for *Henry*, made them expect mighty Matters in *England*. The Heads fancied that they were in a much better Condition to pull down *Henry*, than *Henry* himself was when he passed into *England* to dethrone *Richard III*. They scarce made any Doubt of succeeding, being sure, as they imagined, that the *English* for the most Part would rise in their Favour. However, some were of Opinion to make *Ireland* the Seat of the War. They alledged as their chief Reason, that *Henry* would not venture to come over in Person, or in case he quitted *England*, his Absence would occasion in the Kingdom Insurrections which would mightily help forward the Affairs of the new King. Had this Advice been taken, *Henry* would have been at a great Loss what

He resolves
to pass into
England.

* This Place was once famous throughout *England* for Pilgrimages to the *Virgin Mary*. For in those Days whoever had not made a Visit and an Offering to our *Lady of Walsingham*, was looked upon as impious and irreligious. *Camd. in Norf.*

1487.

what to do. In that Case he must have had two strong Armies on Foot, one to subdue *Ireland*, the other to keep all quiet in *England*. It is easy to see that at such a Conjunction it would not have been prudent to leave *England* without Troops, as well by reason of the Friends the Rebels might have there, as because of the Neighbourhood of the Dutchess of *Burgundy*, who would be able to take Advantage of such a Neglect. Wherefore *Henry* had already resolved to have two Armies, as I observed before. But others on the contrary represented that *Ireland* was not in a Condition to pay the *German* Troops, and much less to maintain a long War. That besides the standing upon the Defensive in *Ireland* was not the Way to dethrone *Henry*, but the going and attacking him in *England*, where, in all appearance, they should meet with many Friends. This Advice was backed by another Reason which was not alledged, but however was the real Motive of it ; namely, that the *Germans* and *Irish* were in hopes of enriching themselves with the Plunder they should get in *England*, whereas they had scarce wherewithal to subsist in *Ireland*. So then it was resolved to pass out of Hand into *England*, whilst they had the Opportunity of making use of the same Transport-Ships which had brought the *Germans*. Mean while, *Henry* having Notice of the Earl of *Lincoln's* Arrival in *Ireland* with the foreign Troops, was no longer at a stand what to do, since he had only to defend himself from one Quarter. And therefore having given Orders that all his Forces should be drawn together about *Coventry*, he repaired in Person to that City, which lies in the Centre of the Kingdom, in Expectation of certain Advice of his Enemy's Designs.

Henry assembles his Army at Coventry.

Simnel arrives in England.

Some time after he heard that *Simnel* was landed in *Lancashire*, in Company with the Earls of *Lincoln* and *Kildare*, the Lord *Lovel* and the *German* General, Sir *Thomas Broughton* having joined the Rebels with a small Body of *English*, they all marched together towards *York*, without committing any Acts of Hostility as they

they passed along, that they might draw the People to their Side. But they found themselves deceived in their Expectations. Not a Soul, except what *Broughton* had brought with him, took up Arms in their Favour, the *Englisch* not liking at all to receive a King at the Hands of the *Irish* and *Germans*. The Earl of *Lin-* 1487.

coln, who commanded the Army, had resolved to avoid fighting, in hopes that he should have been joined by great Numbers of Male-contents. But seeing the People's Backwardness, he altered his Mind, and thought it his best way to come to a Battle as soon as possible, left his Army, which was not above Eight Thousand strong, should diminish instead of increasing. So changing his Rout on a sudden, he marched towards *Newark*, in hopes to become Master of that Place before the King should arrive.

The Earl of Lincoln resolves to fight.

In the mean while *Henry* had advanced as far as *Nottingham*, where he held a Council of War. He had as yet drawn together but Six Thousand Men, and for that Reason several advised him to decline fighting till the rest of the Troops which he expected had joined him. But he was of another Opinion. As he could not believe that the Earl of *Lincoln* had formed such an Enterprize, without having some Assurances of being assisted, he judged it requisite to give him Battle without delay. Two Days after his Army was reinforced with five or six Thousand Men *, upon which all the Reasons against the Resolution he had taken entirely vanished. As soon as he had reviewed these new Troops, he detached several Parties of *Light-Horse* to discover the Earl of *Lincoln's* Designs, and being informed that he was advancing towards *Newark*, he resolved to prevent him. To that End he marched with such Expedition, that he came and encamped between the Enemies Army and *Newark*. The Earl of *Lin-* *The King marches to Nottingham.*

coln moved forwards that Day to a little Village called *Stoke*, where he encamped on the Side of a Hill. Next *Battle of Stoke. June 6.*

Morn-

* With them came the Earl of *Shrewsbury* and the Lord *Strange*, and of *Knights* and *Gentlemen* at least Threescore and Ten. *Bacon.*

1487.

The King
gets the
Victory.

Earl of
Lincoln
slain.

Simnel is
taken and
made the
King's Scul-
lon, and
then Faul-
coner.

Morning being *June* the 6th, *Henry* came and offered him Battle, leaving in the Plain just room enough to serve for Field of Battle. But he was debarred of one great Advantage, in that the Ground was so narrow that it would not allow him to extend the Front of his Army, which was more numerous than that of the Enemy. For which reason he was forced to draw up his Army into three *Lines*, having taken care to place in the first all his best Troops to the Number of six Thousand Men. In all appearance the Earl of *Lincoln* had pitched upon that Ground on purpose, in hopes, that if he could get the better of the King's first *Line*, they would fall foul on the rest of the Army and put them in Disorder, as it happened to *Richard III.* at *Bosworth Field*. The Truth is, it was the King's first *Line* only that fought. They stood for three Hours the Brunt of the *Germans*, who being inured to War and well-disciplined, fought with great Order, and inspired the *Irish* with Courage. At length the Earls of *Lincoln* and *Kildare**, and *Martin Stuart* being slain on the Spot, and most of the *Germans* killed or wounded, the *Irish* took to their Heels, not being able alone to withstand the *English*. 'Tis said, that there were at least four Thousand killed on the Side of the Rebels, and half of the King's first *Line*. The which is a clear Evidence with what Obstinacy they fought on both Sides*.

Among the Prisoners were found the new King of *Ireland*, now become *Lambert Simnel* again, and the Priest his Companion and Instructor. *Henry*, either out of Greatness of Mind or out of Policy, was pleased to give *Simnel* his Life, and to honour with the Office of *Turn-spit* in his Kitchen, the Person that

* Sir *James Ware* says it was *Thomas Fitzgerald*, who according to him is erroneously called the Earl, that was killed.

* In this Battle Sir *Thomas Broughton* is said by our Historians to fall also; but *Camden* says it is a Mistake, and that he escaped to *Wisher-slack*, a Manor of his in *Westmoreland*, where he lived a good while Incognito among his Tenants, and where he died and was buried; his Grave being known, and to be seen at this Day. *Camd. Lancash.*

that had boldly aspir'd to the Throne, and even worn a Crown. Some Time after he was preferr'd to be one of the King's *Faulconers* [in which Office he died.] As for the Priest, he was immediately committed to a close Prison, and never heard of more. Some imagine he was made away with in private; others that the King was pleas'd to spare his Life, in order to learn of him the Bottom of the Conspiracy, and it may be, to confront him with the Guilty if there was occasion. However it does not appear in History, that *Henry* made any Discovery by that Means. At least, there was nothing of that Kind made Publick. If the Queen Dowager was in the Plot, she could not be treated with more Severity than she was already, without she was brought to the Scaffold. As for the Dutcheſs of *Burgundy*, she had no occasion to fear what they could do to her. 'Tis ſaid the King was extremely ſorry for the Death of the Earl of *Lincoln*, which robb'd him of the Satisfaction of knowing all the Circumſtances of the Plot. As for the Lord *Lovel*, ſome ſay he was drowned in attempting to ſwim over the *Trent*, others affirm, that he was ſlain in the Battle. But another Report goes, that he ſpent the Reſidue of his Life in a Cave. Be this as it will, he appear'd no more after that.

1487.

*The Priest
is impris-
oned.*

*The Lord
Lovel ap-
pears no
more.*

Preſently after the Battle the King march'd to *Lincoln*, where he made ſome ſtay, and then went to *York*. In his way thither were tried abundance of People accuſed of holding Intelligence with the late Rebels. It is true indeed, that moſt of them were puniſh'd only by *Fine*, the King's ſole Aim being to fill his Coſſers. With this view it was that he choſe rather to have theſe People tried by Commiſſioners of his own appointing, or by a *Court Martial*, than by the uſual Courſe of Juſtice, which was not ſo favourable to his Deſign. The Truth is, in Impeachments of this Nature, the Laws of *England* admit of no Mean between Death and acquitting, and the King would have neither. But *Commiſſioners* and *Court Martials* are not ſo ſtrictly confin'd to the *Letter of the Law*, but decide

*Several
ſuſpected
Persons
are fin'd.
Bacon.*

1487. Matters in a more arbitrary Manner. Therefore the frequent Incroachment of what they call the *Martial Law* in *England*, upon the Privileges of the People, has been the Occasion of reducing it within just Bounds, insomuch that it cannot take Place but by an *Act* of Parliament made for that Purpose. As for administering Justice by *Commissioners*, it is true the King has still that Prerogative; but then he seldom uses it, and 'tis but in certain Cases that he grants these *Commissions* of *Oyer and Terminer* * as they are called. It is certain that *Henry* upon this Occasion plainly showed his covetous and selfish Temper. He pretended to favour the Guilty in sparing their Lives: But this Clemency of his was more than balanc'd by his Severity, in stripping them of their Possessions. The Crime they were charged with was not of having assisted the Rebels, but of having raised or countenanced a Report some Days before the Battle, *that the Royal Army was cut in Pieces*. The King supposing that such a Report was spread purely to dishearten his Friends, and hinder them from bringing him Troops, made strict Inquiry after those that were suspected of this new sort of Crime. As his sole Aim was to make an Advantage of the *Fines* and *Confiscations*, the Persons commissioned for *Judges* were more ready and less scrupulous to favour his Design than they would have been, had the Lives of the Parties accused been at stake. One may easily guess that the King made choice of the fittest Persons for his Purpose. His Historian says, that *Henry's* Progress from *Lincoln* to *York*, was more like an *Itinerary Circuit* of Justice, than a King's Progress to visit his Counties.

Bacon.

Bull in favour of the Rebels.

Aug. 5.

Act. Pub.

XII. 324.

When the King had done squeezing the Purfes of the Guilty, or suspected Persons, he sent to the Pope for a *Bull* to impower the Archbishop of *Canterbury* to absolve those that had incurred the Penalty of *Excommunication* decreed by the *Bull* spoken of before. The

* Two French Words, signifying to *hear* and *determine*.

The Pope in this Commission took for granted, that they who had attempted to disturb *Henry* in the Possession of the Crown, were struck with bitter Remorse, and that therefore he was willing from a Motive of Charity to ease their troubled Consciences. But it was evident, that his Drift was to support more and more the King's Title. 1487.

At the same Time *Innocent VIII* sent a *Bull* to restrain a little the Privileges of *Sanctuaries*. It ran, *That if Thieves, Murderers, Robbers*, registered as *Sanctuary-Men*, should sally out and commit fresh Offences, and retreat in again, in such Case they might be taken out of their *Sanctuaries* by the King's Officers. *That* as for *Debtors* who had taken *Sanctuary* to defraud their *Creditors*, their *Persons* only should be protected, but their *Goods* out of *Sanctuary* should be liable to *Seizure*. As for *Traitors*, the King was allowed to appoint them Keepers in their *Sanctuaries* to prevent their Escape. Certainly it was a great Abuse to make Churches serve to protect Villains. It had been long complained of in *England*, and in all Appearance the King had applied for a Cure. But he could obtain no farther Redress than what we have just seen. *Alexander VI* confirmed this *Bull* in 1493. Another concerning Sanctuaries.

In the King's Progress to *Lincoln* and *York*, he had frequent Occasion to perceive that his Partiality to the *House of York*, and his injurious Treatment to his Queen in refusing to have her crown'd, were the main Springs of the People's Discontent. Wherefore, contrary to his own Inclination, and with a sole view to prevent future Troubles, he resolved at last to do her that Justice. He came to *London* the beginning of *November*, where he made a triumphant Entry. Next Day, he went in *Procession* to *St. Paul's* and had *Te Deum* sung for his Victory over the Rebels. He was very glad to render it as conspicuous as possible, in order to strike Terrour into his Enemies. Then he commissioned the Duke of *Bedford* to execute the Office of *High-Steward* at the Queen's Coronation, which was performed on the 25th of *November*, with the usual

1487. fual Solemnities. The Queen was then one and twenty Years old, and had been married two Years. So that the King's affecting to defer her Coronation could not but be deemed as a Consequence of a settled Design to humble the *House of York*, and the Queen in particular, whom the King considered as his Rival. Wherefore, as it was easy to perceive that his Resolution to have her crowned presently after *Simnel's* Affair, was the Effect of his Fears, no Body thanked him for it, because every one was perswaded that he did it against the Grain. He likewise set the Marquis of *Dorset* at Liberty without Examination, probably on purpose to please the People. He had a Mind to have it thought an Act of Grace, and withal to leave the Marquis under the Apprehension of being still liable to be called to an Account. But it is to be presumed, that seeing he was so little inclined to show Mercy to the *Yorkists*, he would not have suffered the Marquis to come off so cheap, had there been any good Evidence against him.

Marquis
of Dorset
set at Li-
berty.

Embassy
to the Pope.

Towards the latter End of the Year *Henry* sent a solemn Embassy to the Pope, wherein the Ambassador that was the Spokesman made himself remarkable for his excessive Encomiums of the King his Master. His Praises would have passed for *Extravagant*, if his Commendations of the Pope had not made what he said of his *Master* seem very moderate.

Troubles in
Scotland.
Buchan.

During the King's stay at *York*, after the Battle of *Stoke*, publick Disturbances in *Scotland* gave him an Opportunity of entering into a Negotiation with *James III*, which he hoped to reap some Advantage by. I have given a Hint of *James's* Character in the Reign of *Edward IV*, and shown how odious he had made himself to his Great Men, even to their having been forced to hang his Favourites. The War *Edward IV* had waged with him, and the Danger he had been in of being dethron'd, seemed to have a little moderated his Passions, or at least had obliged him not to show them so much. But the Death of Prince *Alexander* his Brother, of *Edward IV*, and the

Troubles

Troubles in *England* during the Reign of *Richard III*, making him imagine that he had nothing more to fear, he fell to his old Courses again. Without reflecting any longer on the Hazard he had run, he wholly gave himself up to a new Set of Favourites, Men of mean Birth, and no less odious to the Nation than the old ones. But this was a Trifle in comparison of the Design he form'd some Time after. As he harboured in his Breast a violent Desire of Revenge upon the Great Men that had offended him, he resolved to dispatch out of the way at once all those whom he considered as his principal Enemies. With this View he carressed them mightily, and became very familiar with them, that he might the more easily take them unawares. When by these Arts he had drawn almost all of them to Court, he communicated his Design to the Earl of *Dowglass*, and hinted to him, that he did not intend to let slip so fair an Opportunity of destroying all his Enemies at once. *Dowglass* made as if he approved of his Resolution, but privately warned the Lords of the Danger they were in, and withdrew from Court with them. The King having missed his Aim, resolved to compass his Ends with open Force, and levied Troops for that Purpose; but the Lords put themselves likewise on their Part in a Posture of Defence. As all mutual Trust was broken, and as nothing was to be expected from an Accommodation with such a Prince as he, they found means to win the Prince his Son, by making him apprehensive that they were going to give up *Scotland* to the King of *England*, if he would not head them. As soon as the Prince had sided with the Lords, their Party grew so strong that the King beginning to repent of his Enterprize, offered to come to an Agreement. But they told him, that there was no other way to accommodate Matters, but by his resigning the Crown to the Prince his Son. All Prospect of Peace vanishing upon this Proposal, *James* shut himself up in the Castle of *Edinburgh*, from whence he dispatched Ambassadors to the Pope, and the

1487. the Kings of *France* and *England*, to demand their Assistance.

Treaty of Henry with the King of Scotland.
Act. Pub.
XII. 325.
327.

It was in *September*, whilst *Henry* was at *York*, that the Ambassadors of *Scotland* came to him, under Colour of treating about some Differences relating to the Fishery of the River *Eske*. *Henry*, who had an admirable Talent at turning all Things to his own Advantage, thought this was a good Opportunity to get rid at once of the Queen his Mother-in-law and her two Daughters, by marrying them in *Scotland*. With this View he sent to King *James* *Richard Fox* Bishop of *Exeter*, and Sir *Richard Edgecomb*, who agreed with him upon the following Articles, with their Master's good-liking.

Several Matches agreed upon.
Nov. 18.
329.

I. That pursuant to a former Agreement, the Marquis of *Ormond* a *Scotchman*, should marry *Catharine* Daughter of *Edward IV*.

II. That King *James* should espouse *Elizabeth* Widow of *Edward IV*, and Mother to the Queen of *England*.

III. That *James* Duke of *Rothsay*, eldest Son of the King of *Scotland*, should marry another of *Edward the Fourth's* Daughters.

IV. That the King of *England* should give up for ever to the King of *Scotland*, the Town of *Berwick*.

V. That in order to settle the Articles and Agreements of the three Marriages, Commissioners on both Sides should meet at *Edinburgh* the 24th of *January* next, and should have another Meeting upon the same Account in *May*.

VI. That the two Kings should have an Interview in *July*.

VII. Lastly, that the Truce concluded between the two Kingdoms, being to expire *July* the third, 1488, should be prolonged to the 1st of *September* 1489.

As for the Succours which *James* expected from *Henry*, there was no mention of them in the *Preliminaries*.

aries. Apparently, King *James's* Ambassadors were $\frac{1}{2}$ 1487. satisfied with a verbal Promise.

Henry ratified these Articles on the 20th of *November*, but we don't find the King of *Scotland's* Ratification in the *Collection of the Publick Acts*, with that of *Henry's*. Perhaps *James* was prevented by the Troubles in his Kingdom, which grew every Day to a greater Height, and caused likewise this Project to vanish into Air, as we shall see under the next Year.

The War continued all this Year in the *Low-Countries*, between *Charles VIII* and *Maximilian*, to the Advantage of the first, whose Troops surprized St. *Omer* and *Terouenne*. Some Time after, *Maximilian* having carried off a Lord called *Ruffingheim*, and conducted him to *Wilvorde*, the Prisoner found Means to escape and retire to *Gaunt*. Upon his Arrival he stirred up the *Gantois* to a Revolt, and got them to take up Arms against *Maximilian*. This War was of very great Consequence with regard to the Affairs of *Bretagne*, of which it is necessary at present to give a particular though brief Account, because they are to furnish the Subject of the History of the five next Years.

The King of *France*, and the Lords of *Bretagne* had entered into Treaty together with very different Views. The Lords imagined that it was an excellent Means to screen them from the Designs of their Duke, and *Charles* perceived that it was an infallible way to conquer *Bretagne*.

In the Beginning of the Spring 1487, *Charles* sent four Armies into *Bretagne* from four different Quarters. The first alone was six Thousand strong, which exceeded already the Number he had promised to find by the Treaty. Upon News of this Invasion, the Duke of *Bretagne* seeing himself forsaken by almost all his Barons, retired into the Center of his Country, being accompanied by the Duke of *Orleans*, the Prince of *Orange*, the Earl of *Dunois*, and some other French Lords of the Duke of *Orleans's* Party. He staid some Time at *Maletroit*, where he drew together in haste

an

1487. an Army of sixteen Thousand Men, ill-arm'd and undisciplined, by reason of the long Peace *Bretagne* had enjoyed.

The Duke's Court was in so great Consternation, that not a Man knew what Course to take to make Head against so formidable an Invasion. Indeed Means was found to engage the Lord *d' Albret*, who was then in *Navarre* to take the Duke's Part, on Promise that he should have the Princess *Ann* Heiress of *Bretagne*. The Duke himself and all the rest of the Lords, the Duke of *Orleans* excepted, gave it under their Hands that they would help him to that Match, but without meaning to keep their Word. The Duke of *Bretagne* did not think him good enough for his Daughter. The Earl of *Dunois* had in view to marry the young Princess to the Duke of *Orleans*, and the Prince of *Orange* was working underhand to procure this rich Match for the King of the *Romans*. So this Engagement was to no other End but to induce the Lord *d' Albret* to withdraw two Troops of *Men at Arms* which he had in the *French* Army, in order to send them into the Duke of *Bretagne's* Service. Poor Refuge upon so urgent an Occasion!

Mean while the *French* Forces being joined in one Body, advanced into the Country and laid Siege to *Ploermel*. The Duke of *Bretagne* marched immediately to the Relief of that Place. But he had the Mortification to see himself forsaken by his Army, of which there staid not with him above four Thousand Men. Surprized at this unexpected Accident, he retired first to *Vannes*. But the *French*, now Masters of *Ploermel*, pursued him so briskly, that he was fain to embark in great Disorder, to go and shut himself up in *Nantz*. The *French* improving this Consternation, took *Vannes* and *Dinant*, and then went and besieged *Nantz*. A little before the Duke had sent the Earl of *Dunois* to *England* to demand Succours. But though the Earl had shipped himself four several Times, contrary Winds had always hindered him from pursuing his Voyage. Mean while the Marshal of *Rien*, Head
of

of the Male-Contents, finding King *Charles* had so ill observed the Treaty, complained somewhat bitterly of it. But instead of receiving any Satisfaction, he was given to understand, that great Offence was taken at his Boldness. 1487.

Whilst *Charles* was taken up at the Siege of *Nantz*, he heard that the King of *England* had obtained a signal Victory over his Enemies, and that the Business of the pretended Earl of *Warwick* was entirely over. 'Till then he had imagined him so busy at Home, that he had not vouchsafed to say any Thing to him touching the War with *Bretagne*. But when he knew him to be freed from his Troubles, he sent Ambassadors to see to divert him from any Design he might have to interpose in that Affair. *Embassy of France to Henry about Bretagne. Bacon.*

The Ambassadors found the King at *Leicester*, where they had their Audience. They told him, that the King their Master looking upon him as his best Friend, had sent them to impart to him the good Success of his Arms in *Flanders*, and withal to congratulate him upon his Victory over his rebellious Subjects: That they were charged to tell him, that the King their Master was forced to enter into a just War with the Duke of *Bretagne*, who had sheltered the Duke of *Orleans*, declared Enemy of *France*, not to protect him, but solely with a View to aid him to raise Com-motions in the Kingdom, by lending him the Assistance of his Arms: That the King of *France* could not omit taking proper Measures to prevent his pernicious Designs, and therefore his War with the Duke of *Bretagne* was properly *Defensive* only, though he had caused an Army to enter his Dominions: That he that gave the *first Blow* was not to be deemed the *Aggressor*, but he that gave the *Provocation*: That the Duke of *Bretagne* could not deny that he had harboured in his Dominions, nay, in his very Court, *French* Rebels, and formed Plots with them very prejudicial to *France*, without being able to complain of his having been any way injured: That therefore the King their Master hoped from his Wisdom and Justice, *The French Ambassadors Discourse to the King.*

1487.

Justice, that before he concerned himself in the War, he would weigh the ill Consequences of a Protection given to rebellious Subjects, contrary to the *Law of Nations*, and the most solemn *Treaties*, particularly by a *Homager* : That if he had been beholden to the Duke of *Bretagne*, on the other Side, he had not doubtless forgot the Aid he had received from the King of *France*, when the Duke of *Bretagne* had not only failed him, but was even upon the Point of delivering him up to his Enemy : That this Aid was given contrary to the Interest of *France*, since it would be better for her that a *Tyrant*, odious to all his Subjects, should reign in *England*, than such a Prince as himself : That therefore the King their Master hoped he would not undertake the Defense of the Duke of *Bretagne* in so ill-grounded a Quarrel ; but on the contrary, would assist his real Friend, or at least, would stand neuter.

The King's Answer.

The Ambassadors having avoided as a Rock the mention of their Master's Design to conquer *Bretagne*, the King thought it was not his Business to take notice of it in his Answer, though it was no hard Matter to see it through all their Disguises. He contented himself with telling them, that of all the Persons in the World, he was indebted to none so highly as to the King of *France*, and Duke of *Bretagne*. For which Reason he was extremely desirous to give them both real Marks of his Gratitude. And therefore he would take the present Opportunity to discharge the Duty of a true Friend, by endeavouring to heal their Differences in an amicable Manner, and would very speedily dispatch Ambassadors to them to offer his Mediation.

The King has a wrong Notion of the War of Bretagne.

Henry was not so blind, as not to see what the King of *France* was driving at. But unluckily for *Bretagne*, he was possessed with a Notion that he would never be able to put his Designs in Execution. He grounded his Confidence upon the Forces of *Bretagne*, which had hitherto withstood *France* successfully, upon the fickle Temper of the *French*, whose Heat is soon abated

abated by Difficulties, upon the Troubles which the Duke of *Orleans* could raise in the Kingdom by the Means of his Friends, and upon the Diversion which the King of the *Romans* could make in *Flanders*. Pursuant to this Notion, which appeared afterwards to be very wrong, he resolved to become only *Mediator*, without sending any Succours to the Duke of *Bretagne*. He did not at all question but King *Charles* would agree to an Accommodation, for fear of bringing upon him the Arms of *England*. The Truth is, it was evidently for the Interest of *England* to prevent the Ruin of *Bretagne*; and therefore *Charles* ought in all Reason to think, that the *English* would exert their utmost to oppose his Design. Accordingly *Henry* depending upon it, that *Bretagne* could not be subdued if *England* took her Part in good earnest, and that *Charles* would not believe him so unpolitick as to suffer that Dutchy to become a Province of *France*, imagined he would readily accept of his Mediation, and give over his Enterprize. He hoped to reap from thence two considerable Advantages. First, the Reputation of having made Peace between the two Princes, whom he was equally beholden to. The Second was of much more Moment to him. As he was naturally exceeding covetous, and as the Desire of heaping up Money was at the Bottom of all his Designs, he perceived that this Affair would furnish an Opportunity to demand a *Subsidy* of the Parliament, under Colour of assisting *Bretagne*, and that the Money would all come into his own Pocket.

Pursuant to this Scheme, he sent Ambassadors * to King *Charles* to proffer his Mediation, and in Case it was accepted the Ambassadors had Orders to go and make the same Offer to the Duke of *Bretagne*. *Charles* was then employed in the Siege of *Nantz*, and as he hoped to be soon Master of the Place, he saw nothing after that capable of hindering him from wholly subduing *Bretagne*. Wherefore all his Endeavours tended

He offers his Mediation to both the Princes. Charles accepts of it.

* *Urswick* his Chaplain. *Bacon*.

1487. only to order the Matter so that the King should send no Succours to the Duke of *Bretagne* before *Nantz* was taken. When the Ambassadors had offered him the Mediation of the King their Master, he answered with a great deal of Dissimulation, that he willingly consented that the King of *England* should act not only as *Mediator* between him and the Duke of *Bretagne*, but also as *Judge*, and that Matters should be left to him to decide as he pleased. He was in Hopes, either that the Duke of *Bretagne* would reject this Proposal, or that in case he closed with it, it would not be impossible to gain Time till the taking of *Nantz*, which done, he looked upon himself as Master of *Bretagne*.

The Duke
rejects it.

The Ambassadors imagining they had got over the greatest Difficulty, repaired to the Duke of *Bretagne*, who was shut up in *Nantz*, and made him the same Offer from their Master. The Duke of *Orleans* told them in the Name of that Prince, that at a Time when his Country was invaded, and ready to be swallowed up by the *French*, he had expected actual Succours from the King of *England*, sooner than a Mediation, which must needs be fruitless, since nothing was more easy than to spin out a Treaty till *Bretagne* was lost: That he intreated the King to call to Mind the Favours he had received from *Bretagne*, and to consider of what Consequence it was to *England* to hinder that Dukedom from becoming a Province of *France*. The Ambassadors having brought back this Answer to King *Charles*, he took Occasion to tell them, that for his Part, he was very desirous of Peace, as plainly appeared by the Proposal he had made; but that he was sorry to find that the Duke of *Bretagne*, beset as he was by the Duke of *Orleans*, would never comply, without being forced to it by the Continuation of the War. He was so cunning as to instill this Notion into the Ambassadors, who at their Return into *England*, gave the King to understand, that it was proper to leave the Duke of *Bretagne* under his present ill Circumstances, that he might be in-

Charles
makes this
Refusal
turn to his
Advantage.

duced

iced of himself to sue for the Mediation he had re-
cted.

1487.

Mean while the Siege of *Nantz* was carried on with
igour. In all likelihood *Charles* would in the End
ave taken the Place, had not the Earl of *Dunois* been
etained in *lower Bretagne* by contrary Winds. Whilst
e was in those Parts, the Inhabitants of the Country
earing that their Duke was besieged in *Nantz*, came
together to the Number of sixty Thousand Men, with
Resolution to go and relieve him. The Earl of *Du-*
ois perceiving them in this Mind, put himself at their
lead, and approached *Nantz*, the *French* not daring
to attack the undisciplined Multitude. On the contrary,
they brought their Quarters into a narrower Compass,
to be in a better Posture of Defence, and by so doing
gave the Earl of *Dunois* an Opportunity to throw
succours into the Town. Which done, he suddenly
retreated, having no Desire at all to fight the *French*
Army with such Troops. This Relief brought so sea-
sonably, obliged the *French* to retire, having lost all
Prospect of taking the Place. The raising of the
Siege confirmed *Henry* in his Notion, that the Con-
quest of *Bretagne* was too hard a Task for *France*. So
persisting still in his Resolution to stand neuter, he
had no Thoughts of sending any Succours to the Duke
of *Bretagne*. He pretended however to have his In-
terest at Heart ; but it was only to have an Opportu-
nity to get a *Subsidy* from the Parliament, which he
had summoned to meet on the 9th of *November*. Mean
while he sent again the same Ambassadors to King
Charles, and the Duke of *Bretagne*, under Colour of
getting full Information how Matters stood, that he
might lay before the Parliament a just Representation
of the Affair, though he knew beforehand what An-
swer they were to bring back.

The Earl
of Dunois
causes the
Siege of
Nantz to
be raised.

Henry is
confirmed
in his
wrong No-
tion of the
Affair of
Bretagne.

Much about this Time the Lord *Woodvile*, Uncle
to the Queen, desired the King's Leave to go and
serve the Duke of *Bretagne* with a Troop of *Voluntiers*.
Henry denied his Request, not thinking proper to aid
one of the Parties at the very Time he was offering
them

Wood-
vile car-
ries a
small Aid
to the Duke
of Bre-
tagne.

1487. them his Mediation. Nevertheless *Woodville* sailed from the Isle of *Wight* [of which he was Governour,] with four Hundred Men into *Bretagne*. This Aid, though a very Trifle, made a great Noise at the Court of *France*. *Charles* publicly complained of it: But as *Henry* denied that the Lord *Woodville* had carried these Troops to the Duke with his Consent, he took up with that Satisfaction. He was very careful at such a Juncture, not to fall out with *Henry* for so small a Matter.

*The Lords
of Bre-
tagne are
reconciled
to the Duke
June 20.*

Before the *English* Ambassadors were come to *Bretagne*, Affairs had taken a new Turn in that Country, much to the Disadvantage of the King of *France*. The Lords of *Bretagne* who had treated with him, plainly perceiving that his Intention was to conquer *Bretagne*, made their Peace with the Duke, and obtained a full Pardon. The Marshal of *Rieux* their Head, was the last to come in. He would first be thoroughly convinced of the *French* King's Designs, which as yet he only suspected. With this View, after privately treating with the Duke of *Orleans*, he sent a Messenger to the King to tell him, that the Duke of *Orleans* offered to quit *Bretagne* with all his Followers; and therefore, since the *French* Troops had entered *Bretagne* purely to drive out that Prince, he most humbly besought him to withdraw his Troops, pursuant to the Treaty he had made with the Barons. *Ann of Beaujeu*, who was of a high and proud Spirit, and imagining there was no need to keep fair with him any longer, told the Messenger, that the King had gone too far to go back, and that his Resolution was to see the Issue of the Affair. This Answer constrained the Marshal to follow the Example of the rest of the Barons, and he reconciled to the Duke, who gave him the Command of his Army.

*The French
take Dol.*

Though *Charles* had raised the Siege of *Nantz*, he continued his Conquests in other Places. Presently after his Troops took the Town of *Dol* by Storm; whereupon the Duke not thinking himself safe in *Nantz*, thought fit to retire to *Rennes*. He saw him-
self

self very hard pressed, and yet he did not hear that Preparations were making any where for his Relief. In this Extremity, he was perswaded by the Prince of Orange, to promise to give *Ann* his eldest Daughter in Marriage to the King of the Romans, though he had promised her already to the Lord d' Albret. The Prince of Orange made him believe that *Maximilian*, finding his Interest was concerned in defending *Bretagne*, would not fail to come to his Assistance with a powerful Army. But at that very Time, the Revolt of the *Gantois* put it out of that Prince's Power to do any Thing for *Bretagne*.

1487.
The Duke
promises
his Daugh-
ter to the
King of the
Romans.
Septem.

Whilst these Things were doing, *Henry's* Ambassadors to *Bretagne* had frequent Opportunities to be convinced that *Charles* was only amusing the King their Master, and that his Design was to conquer that Dutchy. *Henry* knew this better than they ; but he was willing that their Report should serve for Foundation to demand a *Subsidy* for the Defence of *Bretagne*, though he was still perswaded that the Affair might be made up without his being obliged to draw his Sword. His sole Aim was to make the Parliament apprehensive of the Ruin of *Bretagne*, that they might the more readily grant an Aid of Money, which he intended to put entirely into his own Coffers.

Henry's
Ambassa-
dors disco-
ver the
King of
France's
Designs.

The Parliament met on the 9th of *November*, just after the Ambassadors were come back to *England*. Care had been taken to spread abroad the Report they had brought the King, that the *Commons* might come prepared to exert themselves in the Defence of *Bretagne*. The Archbishop of *Canterbury* as Lord Chancellor, opened the Session with a Speech to the two Houses to this Effect :

The Parli-
ament
meets.

That the King thanked his Parliament for the Acts that were passed in his Favour at their last Meeting : That he was so well satisfied of their Affection, that he had made it a Rule to himself to communicate to so good and loving Subjects all Affairs, as well Foreign as Domestick, that might happen, and that one at present

The Cham-
cellor's
Speech.

1487. present occurred, concerning which he desired to have their Advice.

That the King of *France* was making fierce War upon the Duke of *Bretagne*, as no doubt they had heard : That he alledged for Reason the Protection which the Duke of *Bretagne* gave the Duke of *Orleans*, but that many had other Thoughts of the Matter : That both Parties had made their Application to the King, one to pray him to stand neuter, the other to desire a powerful Aid : That the King having offered his Mediation, had found the *French* King ready to treat, but without discontinuing the War : That the Duke on the contrary, though he was very desirous of Peace, and has most need of it, was backward to enter into a Negotiation, not upon Confidence of his own Strength, but upon distrust of the *French* Court's Sincerity : That after sundry Embassies tending to end Matters amicably, the King had given over his Mediation, not having been able to remove the Duke of *Bretagne*'s Distrust, or perswade the King of *France* to desist from Hostilities during the Treaty : That this being the State of the Case, he desired their Advice, whether he should send Succours to the Duke of *Bretagne*, and enter into a *Defensive* League with him against *France*.

After having thus stated the Question, he alledged several Arguments *Pro* and *Con*, his Aim being under Colour of leaving the Parliament at full Liberty to determine what they should judge fit, to make them perceive the Necessity of aiding *Bretagne*. Which Necessity was in effect so apparent, that a Man had need but of a very moderate Knowledge of the Interest of the *State*, to see of what Moment it was to *England* to prevent *Bretagne* from being subdued. However it is worth noting, that the King knowing how much it concerned the *English* to stand up for *Bretagne*, alledged these Reasons by the Mouth of his *Chancellor*, purely for the sake of obtaining a *Subsidy*, without having any Design to employ it in supporting the Prince under Oppression. This will plainly appear

appear by his whole Conduct hereafter. The Parliament, according to the King's Expectation, failed not to advise him to take in Hand the Defense of the Duke of *Bretagne*, and granted him for that Purpose as large a *Subsidy* as had ever been given to any former King on account of a foreign War.

1487.
A Subsidy granted for the Aid of Bretagne.

As soon as the Parliament broke up, *Henry* resumed the Negotiation with *Charles*, still fancying that the Terrour of his Arms would bring that Prince to an Accommodation. The only means to save *Bretagne* was to send thither a strong Aid, and to declare War with *France*, pursuant to the Intent of the Parliament. But *Henry* had laid another Plan, founded wholly upon his extreme Desire that the Affair might be decided, and he not forced to expend the Money just granted him. He was content therefore with sending Ambassadors to King *Charles* to let him know what the Parliament had resolved. But withal, as if he was afraid of going too far, he declared that the War on the Part of *England* should only be *Defensive*, and solely with respect to *Bretagne*.

The King keeps to the way of Treaty.

He sends an Ambassy to France.

This Procedure easily made the Court of *France* perceive, that the King of *England* had no great Desire vigorously to push this Affair, since when he should have been preparing for War, he contented himself with sending Ambassies. So *Charles* told the Ambassadors that he was always ready accept of the King of *England* for Arbitrator of the Differences between him and the Duke of *Bretagne*: But that he did not intend to suffer himself to be amused with a Treaty which would only serve to give the Duke Leisure and Opportunity to restore his Affairs. That he should be always willing to treat, provided they did not mean to require a Truce destructive of his Interests.

Charles's Answer.

The Season procured the Duke of *Bretagne* a Cessation of Arms, which all the Instances of the King of *England* had not been able to help him to, inasmuch as it constrained the King of *France* to put his Troops into Winter-Quarters, and to return to *Paris*. More-over in *March* 1488, the Marshal of *Rieux* retook

1488.
The Duke of Bretagne makes some Progress. Argent.

1488. *Vannes and Dinan*, and placed Garrisons in *Ancennis* and *Chateaubriant*. On the other Hand, the Lord *d' Albret's* two Troops of *Men at Arms* deserted the Service of *France*, and went and joined the Duke's Army. But this little Turn of Fortune was of no long Continuance. In *April* the King took the Field again, and having retaking *Ancennis* and *Chateaubriant*, razed them to the Ground. Which done, he marched to *Fougeres* and besieged at once that Place and *St. Aubin du Cormier*.

Charles
besieges
Fougeres
and St.
Aubin.

The Lord
d' Albret
arrives in
Bretagne,
and presses
the Duke
about his
Marriage.
The Duke
evades his
Demand.

In the mean Time the Lord *d' Albret* having accepted of the Proposal made him in the Beginning of the War, came to *Bretagne* to serve the Duke with a Body of a Thousand Horse. Upon his Arrival, he pressed the Duke to perform his Promise as to the Marriage. The Duke, who had privately promised his Daughter to *Maximilian*, being at a great Loss, put the young Princess upon declaring that she would never have the Lord *d' Albret*, though she was not then above eleven Years old. This Denial gave the Duke a Handle to shift off the Lord *d' Albret*, till the Princess could be beat out of her Obstinacy.

He sues
for Peace
to the King
of France.

Mean while the unfortunate Duke finding he was in no Condition to withstand the *French*, and receiving no Assistance either from *Maximilian* or the King of *England*, sent the Earl of *Dunois* to *Charles* to sue for Peace. *Charles* did not think fit to return a positive Answer. He was willing first to see the Issue of the two Sieges which were then carrying on. On the other Hand, he was in Treaty with *Henry* about a Truce which he expected to conclude in a short Time. That was the Thing which was to determine him, either to refuse the Duke's Peace, or to enter into Negotiation with him. Wherefore, keeping the Earl of *Dunois* at Court, under divers Pretences, he put him off from Day to Day, till he should receive certain Advice from *England*. Shortly after he heard that *Henry* had signed at *Windsor* a Truce, which was to commence the 24th of *July* this Year, and to end the 17th of *January* 1490. So having nothing to fear from

New Truce
between
France
and Eng-
land.
Act. Pub.
XII. 344.

from the Side of *England*, he applied himself wholly to the carrying on of his Conquests.

1488.

Most certainly *Henry* in leaving thus the Duke of *Bretagne* to the Mercy of his Enemy, acted directly contrary to the Parliament's Intention, which had granted him a *Subsidy* for the Assistance of that Prince. This Truce, made without any Necessity, at a Time when the Duke of *Bretagne* was hardest pressed, plainly shows that he suffered himself to be blinded by the Court of *France*, or rather by the Desire of keeping the Money which the Parliament had granted him for the Aid of *Bretagne*. The Need the Duke stood in of being powerfully assisted could not be more pressing. *Charles* was in the Heart of his Country, at the Head of a strong Army, taking his Towns one after another, and he not able to make any Opposition. At the same Time *Henry* was concluding with *France* a Truce which tied up his Hands, and afforded King *Charles* Opportunity to conquer *Bretagne* without any Difficulty. Wherefore his Historian, prepossessed no doubt in his Favour, and not imagining that he had thus on purpose forsaken the poor Duke in his Distress, says not a Word of this Truce made with *France* at so unseasonable a Time. Moreover he makes the Succours *Henry* sent to *Bretagne*, to arrive their seven Months before they really did, that is, in the Beginning of *August* this Year, whereas it is very certain they came not till the *March* following. These affected Delays, which all the World stood amazed at, proceeded wholly from the King's wrong Notion of this War, and his Desire to put an End to it, without being obliged to make use of the Money given by Parliament.

Remark
on Henry's
Conduct,

and upon
an Omission
of his
Historian.
Bacon.

In the mean Time the Duke of *Bretagne*, the Duke of *Orleans*, the Prince of *Orange*, the Marshal of *Rieux*, were in a terrible Confusion. The King of the *Romans*, the King of *England*, the Duke of *Lorraine*, had seemed to espouse their Quarrel; but it did not appear that any of them were preparing to assist them. In this Extremity, a Council was held to consider

The Duke
of Bre-
tagne re-
solves to
fight.
Argentre.

i 1488.

what Course they should take. The Majority were for marching to the Relief of *Fougeres*, and joining Battle sooner than suffer that Place to be taken. The Marshal of *Rieux* opposed in vain this hazardous Advice, by representing that the Loss of a Battle would infallibly bring along with it the Ruin of *Bretagne*. That it would be much wiser to spin out the Time till the neighbouring Princes should open their Eyes and see their own Interest, since it could not but be extremely prejudicial to them to suffer *Bretagne* to be swallowed up by *France*. To this it was replied, that in all likelihood *Bretagne* would be lost before any Succours should arrive, and therefore the only way to save it was the gaining a Battle. The Duke of *Bretagne*'s Understanding was so impaired, that he was little able to judge aright a Matter of such Consequence. So giving himself up wholly to the Guidance of the Duke of *Orleans* and the Prince of *Orange* his Nephew, he resolved to march to the Relief of *Fougeres*. But upon his Approach to that Place, he found the Town had already capitulated. Then he determined to go and relieve *St. Aubin du Cormier*. But the Governour for want of Provisions and Ammunition, had surrendered a few Days before.

The Duke
of Orleans
and Prince
of Orange
are sus-
pected.

Battle of
St. Aubin,
wherein
the Duke
of Bre-
tagne is
defeated.
Mezerai.
Argent.

Whilst the Duke of *Bretagne* was marching towards *St. Aubin*, all the Forces of *France* joined in one Body, under the Command of *Lewis de la Tremouille*, for fear the Duke was resolved to retake that Place. In a few Days the two Armies were so near one another, that it was not possible for them to part without coming to a Battle. Whilst they were preparing to fight on both Sides, a Rumour being spread among the *Bretons*, that the Duke of *Orleans* and the Prince of *Orange* were going to betray them, they were just upon the Point of disbanding. But the two Princes put them in Heart again, by going amongst them in order to fight on Foot. The Battle was fought on the 28th of *July*, with fatal Success to the Duke of *Bretagne*, who was defeated with the Loss of his best Troops. The Duke of *Orleans* and the Prince of

of *Orange* being taken Prisoners, the King commanded the first to be confined in the Tower of *Bourges*, but set the other at Liberty. The four Hundred *English* brought over by the Lord *Woodville*, were almost all slain together with their Leader. As the *English* wore that Day a *Red-Cross* for their Badge, twelve Hundred *Bretons* were joined to them with the same distinguishing Mark, on Purpose to make the *French* believe, that fresh Succours were come from *England*. It may be, this is what gave Occasion to some to affirm that King *Henry* had already sent a fresh Body of Troops to the Duke of *Bretagne*. The Lord *Bacon*, who has writ the History of this Reign, does not say this indeed, but he assures us, that eight Thousand *English* arrived in a few Days after, and offered the *French* Battle, who did not think fit to accept it. *Polydore Virgil* and several others say the same Thing. But herein they are mistaken. *Henry* had yet made no Treaty with the Duke of *Bretagne*, and it was not till after the Duke's Death and in *March* the next Year, that he sent six Thousand Men to the Dutches his Daughter, as we shall see hereafter.

Wood-
vile is
slain with
all his Fol-
lows.

Error of
the En-
glish Histo-
rians in
this Mat-
ter.

In a few Days after the Battle of *St. Aubin*, *Lewis de Rennes* *la Trimouille* ordered the City of *Rennes* Capital of *Bretagne* to be summoned to surrender; but the Inhabitants continued firm in their Allegiance to their Sovereign.

refuses to
surrender.

Whilst these Things were doing in *Bretagne*, *Henry* was levying in *England* the Money granted him by Parliament. That was a main Point which he hastened mightily, on pretence of the urgent Occasion the Duke of *Bretagne* had of a speedy Assistance. All the Countries, except *Yorkshire*, and the *Bishoprick of Durham*, readily paid their Quota as settled by Parliament. But in these Parts, where the Friends of the *House of York* were very numerous, Matters went not on so smoothly. Some factious Persons having stirred up the People, the Commissioners for gathering the *Subsidy* met with so much Opposition, that they were fain to make Application to the Earl of *Northumberland*,

Insurrec-
tion in the
North of
England.

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land, who immediately gave the Court notice how Matters stood. The King sent back Word, that he would by no means abate one Penny of the Money granted by Parliament, as well on Account of the urgent Occasion there was for it, as because such a Condescension might have an ill Influence on the other Counties. Upon this Answer, the Earl of *Northumberland* assembled the Sheriffs and principal Gentlemen of the County, and told them in very *barb* Terms, what the King's Intention was. The rough Manner in which he spoke to them, without showing the least Regard for Persons who were but too much incensed, made it thought that he himself had advised the King to return such an Answer. This being noised abroad, the Mob rose immediately, and assaulting the Earl's House, forced it open and murdered him with several of his Domesticks. But the Mutineers did not stop there. Presently after, being inflamed by one *John a Chamber* an Incendiary, they set Sir *John Egremond* at their Head, and publickly gave out that they were marching to *London* to give the King Battle.

The Earl of Northumberland is killed by the Mobb. They threaten to fight the King.

The Earl of Surrey disperses them.

Henry being informed of this Insurrection, sent in to the *North* a Body of Troops under the Command of the Earl of *Surrey*, whom he had not only released out of the *Tower*, but also received into Favour, and prepared to follow him in Person with a stronger Body. But whilst he was on his way, Word was brought him that *Surrey* had beaten and dispersed the Rebels, and *John a Chamber* taken Prisoner. As for *Egremond*, he had the good Luck to escape and get into *Flanders* to the Dutchess of *Burgundy*, whose Palace was a Sanctuary to all the King's Enemies. Though this Affair was ended, *Henry* however pursued his Journey to *York*, where he ordered *John a Chamber* to be hanged on a Gibbet raised in the midst of a Square Gallows, on which twelve of his Accomplces were hanged round him. Which done, he returned to *London*, leaving the Earl of *Surrey* President of the *North*, and Sir *Richard Tunstall* his principal Commis-

The King goes on to York and punishes the Ring-leaders.

oner,

ner, to levy the *Subsidy*, of which he was bent not to
pay one Farthing.

1488.

In the mean Time, the News of the Battle of St. *Ho feigns*
Aubin having reached the King's Ears, he seemed re- *so be re-*
solved to send a powerful Aid to the Duke of Bre- *solved to*
agne. But it was still with a Prospect that the Ter- *aid Bre-*
our of his Arms would force King *Charles* to consent *tagne.*
to a Peace. This Artifice was not however capable
of deceiving the Court of *France*, which plainly saw
through all his Designs.

The Loss of the Battle had reduced the Duke of Bre- *sad Con-*
agne to a woful Condition. He was no longer able *dition of*
to stand upon his own Legs, and he saw no Prepa- *the Duke*
rations in Hand for his Assistance, either in *Flanders* *of Bre-*
or England. *Henry* had put him in Hopes of Aid, but *tagne.*
he was not in haste to send him any. As for *Maximi-*
lian, so far was he from having it in his Power to assist
his future Father-in-law, that he had seen himself de-
tained a Prisoner by a Sedition against him at *Bruges*,
where several of his Officers had been killed. His
Captivity lasted from the Beginning of *January* to the
15th of *May*, and his being released then was owing
to the Emperor *Frederick* his Father, who had march-
ed into the *Low-Countries* at the Head of an Army to
his Relief. So instead of having any Thoughts of
assisting *Bretagne*, he himself was looking out on all
Sides for foreign Succours against the *Flemings*. In
order to that, forgetting the Engagements he had
made with the Duke of *Bretagne*, he sent this very
Year to the King and Queen of *Spain*, to demand in
Marriage *Isabella* their eldest Daughter, and at the
same Time *Jane* their second Daughter for his Son
Philip. His first Suit could not be granted, *Isabella*
being already promised to the Prince of *Portugal*. But
the other was effected in Time. At length in the *Maximili-*
Month of *September*, *Philip de Cleves* Lord of *Raven-* *an retires*
stein, having headed the *Gantois* and surprized the City *into Ger-*
of *Brussels*, *Maximilian* retired into *Germany*, leaving *many.*
in the *Low-Countries* *Albret* Duke of *Saxony* to com-
mand

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mand in his Place, in the Name of the Archduke his Son.

The Duke of Bretagne sues for Peace. Reasons why Charles granted it.

There was then no Prospect of Aid for the Duke of *Bretagne*, either from *England* or the *Low-Countries*, or in short from any other Quarter. In this Distress the unfortunate Duke humbly sued to the King of *France* for Peace, who very readily complied with his Request, not from a Motive of Generosity, but that he might put it entirely out of his Power to defend himself, by causing him to lose the Assistance of the King of *England*, whose Interest it was to support him. Though *Henry* had agreed to a Truce with *France*, which was not to expire till *January* 1490, *Charles* was afraid however that he would upon second Thoughts assist the Duke his Ally with all his Forces next Campaign. In order therefore to divert him from so doing, he was very willing to conclude a Peace with the Duke of *Bretagne*, intending to keep it no farther than was consistent with his own Interest. For in his whole Conduct with regard to *Bretagne*, he did not seem more scrupulous than King *Lewis XI* his Father had done before him in all his Negotiations.

Charles VIII's Pretensions. Argentre.

The Discussion of *Charles's* Pretensions upon *Bretagne*, delayed for some Time the Conclusion of the Peace which was negotiating at *Verger*, a Seat belonging to the Marshal of *Rieux* where the King was then. *Charles* pretended that after the decease of the Duke of *Bretagne*, the *Guardianship* of his Daughters belonged to him as Sovereign Lord of the Dutchy. This Claim was disputed by the *Bretons*, who affirmed that the Dukes of *Bretagne* had never done *Liege-Homage* to the Kings of *France*, and consequently they had no Right to claim the *Guardianship* in Question. It was no proper Juncture to decide this Dispute to the Advantage of the *Bretons*, which was of so long standing, and had been as yet left undetermined. But this Pretension of *Charles's* was a Trifle in comparison of another which was of much greater Consequence. He maintained that the Dutchy itself belonged to him, by vir-
tue

tue of a certain Grant which King *Lewis XI* had obtained of the Lady *de la Brosse*, Heirefs of the *House of Blois*, who had formerly disputed *Bretagne* with the Ancestors of *Francis II*. This was renewing an old Quarrel which had been made up by several Treaties, and particularly by that of *Guerande*, whereby the *House of Blois* had dropped all Claim. However *Charles* insisted not stiffly upon these two Points, contenting himself with having intimated his Pretensions in order to assert them at a proper Time. Thus the Treaty was concluded about the End of *August*, importing that *Charles* should remain with the Places he had conquered, but should withdraw his Forces out of the rest of *Bretagne*. He had no Design to keep this last Article. The Duke ratified the Treaty at *Coyron*, where he then was, and this is the Reason why the *Bretons* called it *the Treaty of Coyron*, and the *French*, *the Treaty of Verger*, or *Vergy*.

Treaty of Verger or Coyron. Argent. Mezeral.

A few Days after, namely on the 9th of *September*, died *Francis II* Duke of *Bretagne*, in a very advanced Age, and with his Understanding so impair'd, that for some Years past he had been incapable of governing the *State*. *Ann* his eldest Daughter then about twelve Years old, succeeded him. The Duke her Father had appointed her for *Guardian* the Marshal of *Rieux*, who was to be assisted by the Earl of *Cominge*. But *Philip de Montauban* Chancellor of *Bretagne* found means to carry off the young Dutchess to *Guerande*, where under Colour of giving her Advice, he made her speak as he was pleased to direct. This occasioned between the Marshal of *Rieux* and the Chancellor a Quarrel which proved extremely prejudicial to the Dutchess, and to all the *Bretons* in general.

Dissensions among the Bretons upon the Death of the Duke.

Henry having notice of the Duke of *Bretagne's* decease, openly declared that he looked upon the Interest of the young Orphan Dutchess as his own, and seemed to set about in good earnest to send her Succours. But as he knew likewise that a few Days before the Duke's Death, a provisional Treaty had been concluded till all the King of *France's* Pretensions

Henry pretends to aid the Dutchess.

1488.

might be settled, he did not question but the Affair would be ended by way of Negotiation. The Business was only to hinder King *Charles* from taking Advantage of the Consternation the *Bretons* were under at present. This he imagined he should be able to effect, by giving out how much he should make the Dutchess's Concerns his own. He was even perswaded that *Charles* stood in fear of him, and rather than break with him, would abate a great deal of his Demands. So that his Aim was to become Umpire of this Affair, and to stave off a War which would have forced him to empty his Coffers.

He sends
Embassies
to several
Courts.

A. Pub.
XII. 336 -
348.
and offers
to aid
Ann.

With this View it was that he dispatched Ambassadors to the King of the *Romans*, to the Archduke his Son, and to the Kings of *Spain* and *Portugal*, to make the King of *France* believe that he was labouring to form a League against him. He sent an Embassy likewise to *Charles* himself, to press him to put an end to the Affair of *Bretagne* by a Treaty. At the same Time he sent *Edgecomb* and *Ainesworth* to go and offer his Assistance to the Dutchess, and impowered them to promise in his Name to find her such a number of Troops, upon sufficient Security for the re-payment of the Charges. We shall see under the next Year to what all these Embassies tended. But before we leave this, it will be necessary just to touch upon the Revolution happened in *Scotland*.

Affairs of
Scotland.
Buchan.

The Affair of *Bretagne* having so much engrossed the Kings of *France* and *England*, that *James III* could not obtain of either of them Succours timely enough against the Lords who had set the Prince his Son at their Head. The Male-contents would have been very glad to decide the Quarrel by a Battle. But the King still kept in the Castle of *Edinburgh*, where it was not possible to come at him. Though *Charles* and *Henry* had promised Assistance, they did not much care to espouse his Quarrel. Mean while, he was still in hopes, and therefore kept close, expecting the Performance of their Promises.

Whilst

Whilst his Affairs were in this Situation, he was advised to quit the Castle of *Edinburgh* and go to *Sterling* as the more convenient Place, and there expect the foreign Succours. *James* taking this Advice, began his March with the few Troops he had, and presently the Lords were close at his Heels. He had however so far got the start of them as to get safe, if the Governour of *Sterling*, bribed by his Enemies, had not refused him Admittance: So being at a Loss where to go, he resolved to march back to *Edinburgh*. But by the way he met the Army of the Male-contentants, and was forced to fight against vast odds. He was killed in the Battle which was fought in the Month of *June*. After his Death *James IV* his eldest Son, about fifteen Years old, was proclaimed in his Room, by the Lord who had set him at their Head. But all the *Scots* were not satisfied with this Change. There were several that refused to own the young Prince, whom they taxed with being the Murderer of his Father, and gave him great Disturbance for some Time. In *July* the new King sent Ambassadors to *Henry* to notify his Accession to the Crown.

James III. is slain, and James IV his Son succeeds him.

ibid. p. 343.

On the 10th of *February* 1489, the Ambassadors that had been dispatched to *Bretagne*, concluded a Treaty with the Dutcheſs, the main Article whereof was, that the King ingaged to send into *Bretagne* an Aid of six Thousand Men. To consider this Point alone, one would be apt to imagine that *Henry* acted purely from a Principle of Generosity, or at least for the Interest of his Kingdom. But he had no such Thoughts: His sole Aim was first to hinder *Bretagne* from being over-run by a sudden Invasion of the *French*, that there might be room to treat: In the next Place, to make Money of the Succours he sent the Dutcheſs, the Expences whereof he was willing to advance, in order to be re-paid with Usury. As this Treaty manifestly shows his selfish Views in this Affair, it will not be amiss to insert the Substance of each Article: The which added to what will be said

1489. Henry's Aim in his Treaty with Ann.

1489. hereafter, will serve in great Measure to give a just Notion of this Prince's Character.

Treaty of
Redon.
Act. Pub.
XII. 362.

I. The antient Treaty between *England* and *Bretagne* shall be observed.

II. There shall be a standing Friendship and Alliance between the King of *England* and the Dutcheſs of *Bretagne*.

III. They shall maturely aſſiſt one another in Caſe either is attacked.

IV. If the King ſhall carry War into *France* for the Recovery of *Guienne* and *Normandy*, the Dutcheſs ſhall ſend him Troops according to her Power.

V. The King ſhall aid alſo the Dutcheſs, if ſhe wars with *France* for the Recovery of her Right, without prejudice however to the Truce concluded between *England* and *France*, which is not to expire till the 17th of *January* 1490.

VI. Neither of the two Parties ſhall admit into his Dominions the rebellious Subjects of the other.

VII. The King ſhall lend at his own Charge an Aid of ſix Thouſand Men to the Dutcheſs : Upon Condition that a ſufficient Number of theſe Troops be allotted to guard the *Cautionary* Towns which ſhall be delivered up to the King, and which ſhall be hereafter ſpecified. But the Number ſhall not exceed five Hundred.

VIII. Theſe ſix Thouſand Men ſhall ſerve the Dutcheſs at the King's Expence till the firſt of *November*.

IX. Immediately after that Day the Dutcheſs ſhall ſend Ships with all Neceſſaries, to transport the Troops back to *England*.

X. The ſix Thouſand Men ſhall be embarked at *Portſmouth* about the Middle of this Inſtant *February*, or at fartheſt, by the latter End of the ſaid Month, on board of Veſſels provided by the Dutcheſs.

XI. The Dutcheſs engages to repay the King all his Expences, for the Transportation of the Troops both out and Home, and for their Maintenance whiſt

in her Service, as likewise for the Defense of the *Cautionary* Towns hereafter mentioned.

XII. The Re-imbursment shall be made in *England*.

XIII. It may be made at several Payments, the *Cautionary* Towns remaining in the King's Hands till the whole is paid.

XIV. Presently after the Arrival of the six Thousand Men in *Bretagne*, the Dutchess shall deliver up any two of the following Places the King shall chuse, *Tonclaromneau*, *Hennebond*, *Avray*, *Vannes*, *Guerande*, with all their Revenues, to be kept till she has repaid the King in full, without any Deduction, and then only shall he be obliged to restore them.

XV. If the King shall wage War with *France* upon his own Account, and the Dutchess find him Succours, her Expences shall be deducted out of what she shall owe the King. In like manner if the King aids the Dutchess in an *Offensive* War with *France*, she shall re-pay the Charges he shall be at upon that Score.

XVI. If any of the Places the King of *France* is in possession of be re-taken, the King shall have Liberty to chuse one or two of these Places in the room of one or both of those which shall then be in his Hands. Upon Condition however that he chuse not *Brest* and *Tonclaromneau* at the same Time.

XVII. Two *Commissioners* shall be appointed on each Side, to settle the Expences the King shall be at for the Assistance of *Bretagne*.

XVIII. The Dutchess shall swear before the *English* Ambassadors, that she will not demand again the *Cautionary* Towns till the whole Debt is paid. The Marshall of *Bretagne* with three or four of the principal Lords shall take the same Oath.

XIX. Before the *Cautionary* Towns shall be delivered to the King, they shall be furnished with a sufficient Quantity of *Artillery*, and a Fortnight's Provisions.

XX. The *Fairs* and *Markets* shall be kept there as usual.

XXI. As

1489.

XXI. As soon as Part of the King's Troops shall arrive in any Part of *Bretagne*, the Dutcheſs ſhall ſend to the Ships ſixteen Hoſtages, namely, ———— or at leaſt four of them to be detained till the *Cautionary Towns* are delivered up.

XXII. The Dutcheſs, the Marſhal, and three or four more of the principal Lords ſhall ſwear upon the *Holy Gospels*, that ſhe will not make a Contract of Marriage with any Perſon whatever without the King's Conſent.

XXIII. She ſhall make no Alliance, nor hold Intelligence with any Prince, except the King of the *Romans* and the King of *Spain*, nor even with theſe without the King's Knowledge.

XXIV. She ſhall conclude neither Peace nor Truce for above two Months, without including the King.

XXV. The King promiſes the ſame Thing on his Part.

XXVI. The Treaty of Commerce between *England* and *Bretagne* of the 22d. of *July* 1486 ſhall be renewed.

XXVII. The King and Dutcheſs ſhall give mutual Security for keeping the Treaty of Commerce.

XXVIII. *Engliſh* Money ſhall paſs in *Bretagne* after this manner, — the King ſhall be obliged to take the ſaid Money in Payment.

Remarks
upon this
Treaty.

It is eaſy to perceive that in making this Treaty *Henry* had three different Views. Firſt, to prevent *Charles VIII* from becoming Maſter of *Bretagne*, whiſt the Dutcheſs was ſo little able to withſtand him. If *Charles* ſhould have finiſhed the Conqueſt of *Bretagne* next Campaign, as he might eaſily have done, *Henry* would have been blamed by all *Europe*. Particularly he would have had nothing to ſay in his Excuſe to the Parliament, who had granted him a very conſiderable *Subſidy* for the Deſenſe of that Dutchy. His next View was to frighten the King of *France* by the ſending of *Engliſh* Troops into a Compliance to put an End to the Affair by way of Treaty. This is plain

plain from his landing the six Thousand Men for eight Months only, and at a Time when they were of no Service but to prevent the Court of *France* from violating the Treaty of *Vergy* which was then in Force. His last and chief Aim was to secure the Re-imbursement of the Money he was going to advance for the Maintenance of the six Thousand Men for eight Months. He had already laid a Scheme to keep for himself the *Subsidy* granted by Parliament for the Defense of *Bretagne*, in hopes of deciding the Matter by his Mediation. Mean while he saw plainly that the young Princess in the Circumstances she was under, could not stand against the King of *France*, if he should take it in his Head to push his Conquest farther. Wherefore to oblige King *Charles* to enter into Treaty, it was necessary to let him see that the Dutchess would not want Protectors, in Case he pretended to continue to make use of Arms. He could not help therefore advancing the Money, since the Dutchess was not able to do it. But withal he took so great Care not to lose his Money, that one plainly perceives in perusing the Treaty, that his principal Aim was to be repaid his Expences. There are two Remarks more to be made upon his Conduct. First, in all Appearance he did not care to lend his Troops for above eight Months, for fear the Charges should run too high, and consequently he should find it a hard Matter to come at his Money. Secondly, he was willing not only to secure the *Principal*, but to receive it with *Interest*. Accordingly, after he had gotten Places mortgaged for his Security, he left the Sum undetermined, in order to have it settled by *Commissioners*. He knew very well that when once he had the Towns in his Hands, *Ann* would one Day be forced to submit to what he should think proper, and that it would be in his Power to mount the Charges of levying and maintaining his Troops as high as he pleased. What I am saying is not a bare Conjecture, since we shall find in the Sequel that he raised this Expence to an exorbitant Sum. Thus *Ann* was so tied up by the Treaty,

1439.

Treaty, that these Succours were no less expensive to her than the *French* Army itself, which lay still without attempting any Thing, though it continued all this while in the Country. *Charles* had fully designed to take Advantage of the Consternation *Bretagne* was under upon the Death of the Duke. But in a Council held upon that account, the Chancellor *de Rochefort* was utterly against it, upon the Score of *Honour* and *Equity*. His Opinion had made the deeper Impression upon the King's Mind, as he was still in fear that although the King of *England* acted at present but faintly, he would in the end alter his Mind. Besides, *Henry's* Embassies to *Spain*, to the King of the *Romans*, and to the Archduke, gave the Court of *France* some Uneasiness. They were afraid of a League which would have obstructed the Execution of the Grand Project already formed, and of which mention will be made hereafter.

Dissention
in Bre-
tagne.
Argentre.

Whilst the Treaty I have been speaking of was carrying on at *Redon*, the Dutchess's Affairs were in a miserable Condition. She not only saw a *French* Army in the Heart of her Country, and in Possession of several Towns ; but moreover she was destitute of *Men* and *Money*. What was still more grievous at such a Juncture, was the Dissention sprung up among her principal Lords. The Marshal *de Rieux* pretended to govern her as her Guardian. But *Philip de Montauban* her Chancellor had such an Ascendent over her, that he caused her to look upon the Marshal as an Enemy, insomuch that she flatly refused to be under his Guardianship. The pretence *Montauban* used to exasperate her was, that the *Marshal* would marry her to the Lord *d' Albret*. He represented to her that the *Marshal* intended to ruin her, by giving her a Husband who was not able to protect her. He even insinuated that the *Marshal* was brib'd by the King of *France*, whose Interest it was to marry her to a Lord who was not supported by any Prince in *Europe*. It may be the *Chancellor* was himself bribed in favour of the King of the *Romans*. Be that as it will, their Dis-
sention

ention was carried so far, that the Marshal *de Rieux* caused the Gates of *Nantz* to be shut upon the Dutch-
 ss, and even threatened to come and besiege her in
Rennes. It is not then at all strange that *Montauban*,
 who managed the Dutchess's Affairs, should agree to
 such a Treaty, since by the Arrival of the *English*
 Forces his Party would be very much strengthened.

The *English* Succours arrived in good earnest in the
 Month of *March*. The which together with *Henry's*
 Embassies to several Courts, made King *Charles* ima-
 gine that he intended to act vigorously in Defense of
Bretagne. In this Belief, finding he could not com-
 pass his Ends with open Force, without entering into
 a War with *England*, and drawing other Enemies, it
 may be, upon himself, he thought best to take some
 other Method. There was a Treaty on Foot to
 make Peace between him and *Maximilian*, and be-
 tween *Maximilian* and the *Gantois*, by the Mediation
 of the *German* Princes who were assembled at *Franc-*
fort. As this Affair was in a good Way, he did not
 Question but a Peace would follow. He had in his
 Power *Margaret* Daughter of the King of the *Romans*,
 in order to espouse her as soon as she was marriageable;
 and he was not ignorant of the Engagements the late
 Duke of *Bretagne* had entered into with that Prince,
 on the Score of his Daughter's Marriage. So not at
 all doubting but his future Father-in-law, with whom
 he was going to conclude a Peace, would be inclined
 to favour him, he sent and offered the Dutchess of
Bretagne to make him Umpire of their Differences.
Ann gladly accepted the Offer, being as it were sure
 of the Favour of a Prince who was in hopes to marry
 her, and *Maximilian* did not want much Intreaty to
 become Arbitrator of an Affair, in which he himself
 was so much concerned. Thus *Charles*, *Ann* and
Maximilian acted all three with Insincerity.

The En-
 glish ar-
 rive in
Bretagne;

Charles
 and *Ann*
 take *Maxi-*
milian for
 Umpire.

The Ambassadors of *France* and *Bretagne* being met
 at *Francfort*, concluded by the Mediation of the King
 of the *Romans*, a provisional Treaty, importing that
Charles should restore the Places he had conquered

Treaty
 made at
Francfort.

1489.

upon *Bretagne*, except *Dinan*, *St. Aubin*, *Fougeres* and *St. Malo*: That these four Towns should be committed in Trust to *Maximilian* and the Duke of *Bourbon*, and that the *French* Troops should march out of the rest of *Bretagne*: That for her Part, the *Dutchess* should send away the *English*: That in *April* next, a Congress should be held at *Tournay* to adjust all Disputes: That in the mean Time both Parties should send their Reasons to *Avignon*, to be examined and discussed by *Civilians*, that their Opinions might be a Guide to the Mediators.

Charles
he ps not
the Treaty

This Treaty took not Effect, though both Parties seemed pleased with it. *Ann* was obliged by the Treaty of *Redon* to deliver up two Places to the King of *England*, and these two Places were to be kept by five Hundred *English*. By the present Treaty, she promised to send away all the *English*. But as the five Hundred Men which kept the two Places were not excepted, *Charles* pretended that he was not bound to execute the Treaty of *Francfort*, till all the *English* were gone out of *Bretagne*, which *Ann* had no Right to compel them to. So that although in *November*, pursuant to the Treaty of *Ridon*, the *English* Forces went back to *England*, the five Hundred Men stayed behind, and it was not in the *Dutchess's* Power to send them away, unless she re-paid the King of *England* the Charges he had been at, the which was impracticable. The Affair remained therefore in the same State it was in before the Treaty of *Francfort*, and the two Parties neither sent their Reasons to *Avignon*, nor their Ambassadors to *Tournay*.

The
Dutchess
is per-
swaded
to marry
Maximili-
an.

In the mean Time the Marriage of *Maximilian* with *Ann* was negotiating with all the Secrecy possible. *Maximilian's* Agents represented to the young Princess, the Honour she would enjoy of being *Queen of the Romans*, and in Time *Empress*. But with this Honour she would have need of a powerful Assistance, which her *Lover* was in to Condition to give her. He could not draw any Forces out of the *Low-Countries* and send them to *Bretagne* without breaking with *France*, which
was

was included in the Peace he had just made with the *Gantois*, Besides, this Peace stood upon so tottering a Foundation, that it did not last a whole Year. Thus *Maximilian* Son of an Emperor, himself King of the *Romans* and Governour of the *Low-Countries*, had nothing but empty Titles, which gave him but little Power. Nevertheless the young *Dutchess* was made to expect mighty Matters from him, either because her Advisers wilfully shut their own Eyes, or because there was then no other Prince in *Europe* from whom she could expect any Assistance. The King of *England* might have protected her ; but he had entertained such a wrong Notion of the Affair, that the Issue alone was capable to undeceive him.

In short, the Marriage was accomplished in *November* with a Ceremony [then altogether new in those Parts,] for the Prince of *Nassau*, Ambassador and Proxy of *Maximilian*, put his naked Leg into the Bed where the *Dutchess* lay, to denote a sort of Consummation. This was done however with so much Secrecy, that it does not appear that either *Charles* or *Henry* knew any Thing of the Matter, till *March* 1491. It is true indeed *Argentre* Historian of *Bretagne* says, that since the Beginning of the Year 1490, all the publick *Acts* ran in the Name of *Maximilian* and *Ann*. If that were true, it would be hard to conceive how their Marriage could be kept a Secret. But it is very probable that *Argentre* was mistaken by one whole Year. And indeed we find in the *Collection of the Publick Acts of England*, several *Commissions* of the Year 1490 in the Name of the *Dutchess* alone ; and the first we meet with there with the Name of *Maximilian* is dated in *March* 1491.

The Marriage is solemnized by Proxy.

Though the *English* Troops were returned Home, *Charles* renewed not Hostilities in *Bretagne*. This Forbearance made *Henry* fancy he had attained the End he had been all along driving at, that is to say, that he had frightened *Charles* by the bare appearance of a Rupture. The Truth is, *Charles* was somewhat at a Loss. He could not think of letting go his Hold,

1490. Charles is put to a stand.

1490.

and on the other Hand, he perceived it would be very difficult to compleat the Conquest of *Bretagne*, without drawing on himself a War from *England*, and perhaps from several other *States*.

Embassy of
Ann to
Henry.
Act. Pub.
XII. 387.

Mean while, *Ann* seeing plainly that the War would infallibly break out again as soon as her Marriage was made publick, us'd all her Endeavours to convince *Henry* of the Necessity of sending fresh Succours to *Bretagne*, without letting him however into the true Reason. With this view it was that in *February* 1490, she dispatch'd to him Chancellor *Morlauban* and other Ambassadors, with Orders to demand Succours, and an exprefs Power to promise in her Name, that she would never marry without his Consent. This shows that her Marriage with *Maximilian* was still a Secret, which she did not think fit to divulge. In the *Instructions* given to these Ambassadors, they were order'd to inform the King of her formal Protestation against the Engagement the Duke her Father had entered into on her Account, with the Lord *d'Albret*, and of all that *d'Albret* and *de Rieux* had done to compel her to ratify that Engagement. She did this to hint to him that she stood in need of his Assistance as well against her own Subjects as the King of *France*, and that *Bretagne* was in danger from both. But all this was not capable to move *Henry*. Instead

Embassy
from Hen-
ry to
France.
Feb. 27.
P. 449.

Here resolves
to take
Advantage of
Charles's
being at a
stand.
P. 453.

of treating with the Dutchess about fresh Succours, he sent Ambassadors to *France* with Power to treat with King *Charles* concerning all the Differences that Prince had with the Dutchess of *Bretagne*. He was still of Opinion, that *Charles* dreading the Alliance of *England* with *Bretagne*, wanted only a Peace. In this Belief he resolv'd to make him pay for it; by coming upon him for what he had never dreamt of till then. He demanded the *Arrears* of the Pension which *Lewis* XI. had bound himself to pay to *Edward* IV. by the Treaty of *Pequigny*, and which by a subsequent Treaty was to continue till the Death of the Survivor of the two Kings. These *Arrears* amounted to the Sum of One Hundred Twenty-five Thousand Crowns, which

the

the Ambassadors had Orders to demand. From that time this Article was always inserted in the King's Commissions to treat with *France*. Henry imagined that in the Treaty *Charles* should make with *Ann*, of which he thought himself almost sure, he would submit to this Article, for fear it should be an Obstacle to the Peace.

Whilst his Ambassadors were in *France*, he could not help appointing Commissioners to treat with those of *Bretagne*. But it was only to amuse them. The Negotiation ended in a Treaty for securing him better than the former, the Reimbursement of the Charge he had been at on account of the Dutchess. As for the Succours she demanded, there was not a word about them in the new Treaty. The whole amounted to some verbal Promises on the King's Part, that he would never forsake the Dutchess. He believed these Succours were entirely needless in the present Circumstances of the Affair, even imagining that King *Charles* was strongly inclined to a Peace. Meanwhile, *Charles* in his Turn amused the *English* Ambassadors, resolving to come to no Conclusion till he should be able to dive into the Bottom of *Henry's* Intentions. He had an Army in the Bowels of *Bretagne* and several Towns in his Possession, and *Ann* was little able to drive him thence with her own Forces alone. For that Reason he was willing to wait for a favourable Opportunity to put an End to the Affair, otherwise than by the King of *England's* Mediation, whom he very much suspected. Henry thinking he was of another Mind, made it his chief Business to secure the Payment of the Money he had advanced for the Assistance of *Bretagne*. In order to that, under colour that the City of *Nantz* was in danger of falling into the Hands of the *French*, he demanded to have it delivered up to him, promising to restore it upon the first Request. But presently after he heard that the Lord *d'Albret* had been beforehand with him, and that having no Prospect of marrying the Dutchess, he had sided

He treats with Bretagne, but upon his own Affairs.

P. 394.

He demands Nantz, P. 452.

but it is taken by d'Albret.

1490. sided with *France*, and taken that rich City, where he had met with a good Booty.

The Flemings revolt again. Charles aids them. During these Transactions fresh Commotions broke out in *Flanders*, which were very prejudicial to the Affairs of the Dutchess of *Bretagne*. The Duke of *Saxony*, who commanded in *Flanders* in the Name of *Maximilian*, having published an Edict about the Money, the Inhabitants of *Bruges* refus'd to comply with it, and drew the *Gantois* into their Revolt. The King of *France*, who desired no better Sport than to see War kindled in *Flanders*, sent Succours to the Rebels under the Conduct of Marshal *Desquerdes* Governor of *Picardy**. On the other Side, *Maximilian* or the Duke of *Saxony* in his Name, sent Ambassadors to *Henry* to make a League with him against *France*.

They make great Progress. With the Help of the Succours from *Picardy*, the Rebels made great Progress, and having taken *Ipre* and *Sluce* they went and besieged *Dixmude*. *Henry* angry with *Charles* for delaying his Answer so long, and moreover being concerned to support the Archduke, resolved to send him Aid. To that purpose he suddenly dispatched [the Lord *Morley* with] a Thousand Men to *Calais*, with Orders to the Lord *d'Aubigny* Governor of that Place, to relieve *Dixmude* if possible. *D'Aubigny* having added a Thousand Men of his Garrison to those come from *England*, marched directly to *Dixmude*, which was not well invested. He got into the Town by Night without Opposition, and at break of Day sallying out of the opposite Gate, he fell upon the Camp of the *French* and *Flemings*, and entirely routed them*. This Affair occasioned a great Coldness between *Charles* and *Henry*. But *Charles* durst not complain, since it was no more his Business to

* He was so inveterate against the *English*, that he us'd to say, *He would gladly lie in Hell seven Years, so he might but win Calice from the English.*

† With the Slaughter, as is said, of Eight Thousand of the Enemy, and the Loss only of a Hundred of the *English*, among whom was the Lord *Morley*. *Bacon.*

to abet rebellious Subjects, than it was *Henry's* to assist the Sovereign.

1490.

In the mean time the Ambassadors of *Bretagne* danced Attendance at *London* without being ever the nearer. The King gave them however good Words, which served only to engage them more and more to do his Business instead of their Mistresses. On the 26th of *July* he required of them an Acknowledgment, that he had punctually executed the Treaty of *Redon*, a fresh Engagement to reimburse all his Charges, and a Promise to deliver up to him *Morlaix* and *Concarneau*, upon the Prospect of an Aid which he never intended to give. Mean while, it would be necessary, in order to attain his Ends, to make the King of *France* believe that he really designed to assist the Dutchess of *Bretagne*, since it was the only Means to stop his Proceedings. *Charles* seemed to have some knowledge of what *Henry* had in his Thoughts, for he appeared more backward than ever, as to an Agreement with the Dutchess. He returned no direct Answer, neither did he talk of restoring what he had conquered upon *Bretagne*, or of paying the *Arrears* of the Pension payable till the Death of *Edward IV.* Wherefore, *Henry* thought it time to proceed more openly, and give that Monarch reason to fear not only the Arms of *England* but also of several other *States*. In the Beginning of this Year he had renewed the Treaties of Alliances with *Portugal* and *Denmark*. In *September* he concluded with *Maximilian* and *Philip* his Son, a League against *France* for their mutual Defence, as well as for that of the Dutchess of *Bretagne*. At the same Time he published a Treaty which he had made with *Ferdinand* and *Isabella* in *March* last Year. By this Treaty the two Kings had obliged themselves to make War upon the King of *France*, unless he would restore *Roussillon* to *Ferdinand*, and *Guienne* and *Normandy* to *Henry*. Moreover, they agreed upon a Match between *Arthur* Prince of *Wales*, *Henry's* Son, and *Catherine*, Third Daughter of *Ferdinand* and *Isabella*, as soon as the Prince should be Fourteen, and the Princess Twelve Years

Ann enters into fresh Obligations to Henry, but without obtaining any succours.

p. 394

Henry makes several Alliances. Act. Pub. XII. 397 -- 462. He publishes his Treaty with the King of Spain.

1490.

Years of Age. The Treaty he had made with the King of the *Romans* had relation to this. These Three Princes were to enter *France* at the same Time, each at the Head of an Army as well for their own private Interests as for the sake of the Dutchess of *Bretagne*. But by some secret Articles signed two Days after, there were so many Restrictions concerning the Time, Manner, and Circumstances of the War, that it plainly appear'd *Henry's* sole Aim was to frighten the King of *France*. By one of the secret Articles, the Time of this Invasion was fixed to the 15th of *August*, 1492.

By the secret Articles the Alliances came to nothing.
P. 403.

Alliance with the Duke of Milan.

On the 4th of *October*, *Henry* concluded with *John Galeazzo* Duke of *Milan* a Treaty of Alliance, containing only general Articles of Amity and good Understanding. Mean while *Henry* reaped this Benefit by these Negotiations which were carried on openly, that he put the *French* King to a stand. The Truth is, all these Treaties, the secret Articles whereof he knew not, gave him some Uneasiness. He had reason to fear, that a League was forming against him, which would prove a Bar not only to the Conquest of *Bretagne*, but also to that of the Kingdom of *Naples*, which had run in his Head some Time. It was this that kept him back from renewing the War in *Bretagne*, though the Dutchess's Circumstances were such, that it seem'd an easy Matter to dispossess her of all her Dominions. Besides, *Henry's* Proceedings were so very extraordinary, that he knew not what to think of them. That Monarch made a great Noise about the League he was forming for the Defence of *Bretagne*, and yet sent no Succours thither. In this State of Uncertainty *Charles* resolved to send an Embassy to *England*, under colour of drawing off *Henry* from the Dutchess's Side, but in reality to know by his Answer what he was to hope or fear from him. He pitched upon for this Purpose *Francis de Luxemburg* Viscount of *Martiques*, *Valeran de Sams*, and *Robert Gaguin*, General of the Order of the *Trinity*. These Ambassadors being come to *London*, had their Audience of the King, wherein

Charles's
Embassy to
Henry.
Dec. 10.
P. 432.

wherein nothing more than ordinary passed. Some Days after the King having nominated to treat with him *Richard Fox* Bishop of *Exeter*, *Thomas* Earl of *Armond*, and some others, in the first Conference they had together, the *General* of the Order of the *Trinity* being the Speaker, made the most submissive and ringing Speech that ever came out of the Mouth of *French* Ambassador to a foreign Prince, if after all the Matter is to be referred to *Henry VII's* Historian. As I have several Reasons to suspect that this Speech is rather the Historian's than the Ambassador's, I shall content my self with just touching upon the principal points, without sticking to the very Words, or mentioning certain Articles which seem to me altogether improbable*.

The Ambassador began with saying, "That their Master had sent them to pray a Peace with the King of *England*, and that the Esteem he had for that great Prince induced him to overlook all Formalities, and to make Advances unusual in such Sovereigns as He. That however, he would not conceal from him another Motive which made him desirous of Peace: Which was, that having resolved to carry his Arms into remote Countries, it could not but be for his Advantage that all the World should know he was in Friendship with all his Neighbours, and particularly with the King of *England*. Then the Ambassador himself took care to excuse *Henry's* sending Succours into *Bretagne* and *Flanders*, though it was against *France*, and owned there was not in that any just Occasion of Rupture between the two Crowns. As for *Flanders*, he justified the King his Master's sending Troops thither, because it was his Duty to protect the *Flemings* his Vassals, against the King of the *Romans* their Oppressor. After that, the Amba-

*The Amb
bassador's
Speech.*

* For Instance, the Lord *Bacon* makes the Ambassador desire *Henry* that he may annul the Marriage of *Maximilian*, of which either *Charles* nor *Henry* had yet any Knowledge.

1490.

“sador added, That King *Charles* intended to make
 “War upon the Kingdom of *Naples*, unjustly de-
 “tained from him by a Bastard of the *House of Arra-*
 “*gon*. That having an undoubted Right to that
 “Kingdom, he was bound in Honour to try to re-
 “cover it. But that his Thoughts did not rest there,
 “his Purpose being to make the Conquest of *Naples*
 “serve as a Bridge to transport his Forces into the
 “*East*, and overthrow the Empire of the *Turks*. That
 “there could not be a fairer Opportunity, by reason
 “of the Divisions in the *Ottoman* Family. That be-
 “ing thus resolved upon putting his grand Design in
 “Execution, for the Honour and Benefit of the
 “*Christian* Religion, he made no Scruple to beg Peace
 “at the Hands of all the Princes of *Europe*, that he
 “might not be diverted from his Purpose by any
 “Obstacle from them.

The Ambassador concluded with saying, “That he
 “had one thing more to mention, not as a Matter of
 “Treaty, but purely to show with what Earnestness
 “the King his Master desired to keep up a good Un-
 “derstanding with the King of *England*; which was,
 “that being Sovereign Lord of *Bretagne*, and as
 “such having a Right to the Guardianship of the
 “*Dutchess*, he requested the King of *England* to
 “consent that he might dispose of her in Marriage as
 “he should think fit”.

The Chan-
 cellor's
 Answer in
 the King's-
 Name.

Some Days after the Ambassadors of *France* being
 sent for to the Council, the Chancellor returned them
 the following Answer from the King: “That the
 “King his Master had not forgot the former Love
 “and Friendship between the King of *France* and
 “him. That if the Friendship was still the same,
 “there was no occasion to talk of it: But if it was
 “not, it was not Words but Deeds that must renew
 “it. That as for the Affair of *Bretagne*, he could
 “not help thinking it strange that the King of *France*
 “should have made him his *Instrument* to ruin one of
 “his best *Allies*, and should farther pretend that he
 “was very much obliged to him for it. That as for
 “the

“ the Dutchess’s Marriage, he intended not to med- 1499.
 “ dle with it, provided the King of *France* would
 “ proceed by *Law* and not by the *Sword*. That howe-
 “ ver, what had passed in *Bretagne* as well as in *Flan-*
 “ *ders* did not estrange him so far from the King of
 “ *France*, but that he would treat with him provided
 “ other Matters might be brought upon the Board
 “ at the same Time. That as for the War upon *Na-*
 “ *ples*, the King had but one Thing to say to it ;
 “ which was, that as the King of *France* thought
 “ himself bound in Honour to try to recover that
 “ Kingdom, so for the very same Reason the King. *He de-*
 “ looked upon himself as obliged to exert his utmost *mands all*
 “ for the recovery of *Guienne*, *Normandy*, and the *France.*
 “ Kingdom of *France* it self, which of Right belong-
 “ ed to him. ”

Henry had easily dived into the Bottom of this Em- *Motive of,*
 bassy, and perceived that by a general Proposal to- *the De-*
 live in Peace with him, *Charles* had no other Design *mand.*
 than to sound his Intentions with respect to *Bretagne*.
 For this Reason it was that pursuant to the Rule he
 had laid down, which was to frighten him, he threat-
 ened him with a War, not only for the sake of the
 Dutchess of *Bretagne*, but also upon the Score of his
 own Interest. Nevertheless it is probable that he
 spoiled all in pushing Matters too far, and that *Charles*
 was sensible that this Answer of his was only bare
 Words, which would not be followed by *Deeds*. It *Charles*
 was not at all likely that in the Situation *France* was *discovers*
 then in, *Henry* who tottered as it were in the Throne *it.*
 of a Kingdom abounding with Male-Contents, should
 be willing to renew a Dispute of that Moment, of
 which he could not naturally expect to see a happy
 Issue. The Reputation he had of being one of the
 most prudent Princes of his Time, took away all Be-
 lief that he would embark in such an Undertaking.
 So *Charles* holding it for certain, that he intended on-
 ly to frighten him, kept on his old Course, with re-
 spect to *Bretagne*, and succeeded in the End, as we
 shall see under the next Year. On the other Hand, *The Amb,*
 Vol. VI, U u 2 *his reply.*

1490.

his Ambassadors, surprized at the *Chancellor's* Speech, answered with some Warmth, that the King their Sovereign was not afraid of such Threats, and was able to maintain his just Rights against any Person whatever that should dispute them with him. The *Chancellor* calmly replied, that the King expected no other Answer from them; but would forthwith send Ambassadors to the King of *France* to acquaint him more fully with his Intentions. Then he asked them whether the King of *France* would agree to have the Disposal of the Marriage of the Dutchess of *Bretagne*, with an Exception that he should not marry her himself (a). The Ambassadors made Answer, that the King their Master was so far from having any Thoughts of marrying the Dutchess of *Bretagne*, that he had given them no *Instructions* upon that Head.

Question
put to the
Ambassadors.

Ann notifies to
Henry her
Marriage.

During all these Negotiations, *Ann* was very much vexed to see no Succours come either from *Maximilian* or the King of *England*. She had till then kept her Marriage secret: But plainly perceiving she could not possibly conceal it any longer, and that it was not fair to hide it from one whom she looked upon as her chief Protector, she dispatched a solemn Embassy to *England*, consisting of the Prince of *Orange*, the Earl of *Dunois*, and the *Chancellor*. Their Business was to demand Succours, and apparently to make known her Marriage to the King. And indeed, it is not till after this Embassy which arrived in *England* in the Beginning of the next Year, that we find in the *Publick Acts*, *Maximilian's* Name joined with hers.

1491.
Henry's
Embassy
to Charles.

In *February* 1491 *Henry* sent Ambassadors to *France* as he had promised. Their Commission was to treat about all the Differences he had with King *Charles*, and in particular about a certain Sum due to him from that Prince, as also touching the Affair between *Charles* and the Dutchess of *Bretagne*. These very *Instructions*

ons

(a) If *Henry* had known *Ann* had espoused *Maximilian*, he would not have offered to leave to *Charles* the Disposal of that Princess's Marriage.

ons are a clear Evidence that *Henry* had no Intent vigorously to push his Claim to the Realm of *France*, or at least to *Guienne* and *Normandy*. The Truth is, what likelihood is there that he would have comprized under the general Word *Differences* his Claim to all *France*, or to two of the richest Provinces, and that he would have specified a Debt of a Hundred Twenty-five Thousand Crowns, if the first had been the principal Point? It is manifest then, that he still persisted in being desirous to end the Affair of *Bretagne* without War, and to secure the Money he had advanced.

A few Days after he appointed *Commissioners* to treat with the Ambassadors that came last from *Bretagne*. Then it was in all appearance that the Dutcheſs's Marriage with *Maximilian* was imparted to him. Perhaps he was told of it before, though he pretended Ignorance, because it had not been notified to him in Form.

Ann's Marriage is imparted to him. p. 436.

Mean while *Charles* having at length heard of this Marriage which had been made a great Secret, resolved to throw off all Restraint and be the more speedy and vigorous in his Conquest of *Bretagne*. In all appearance, he saw plainly enough through all *Henry's* Disguises, and it may be was of Opinion that the Acquisition of *Bretagne* was well worth the hazarding a Rupture with *England*. As for *Maximilian* he did not much fear him; and he had an infallible Expedient to pacify the King of *Arragon*, by giving up to him *Roussillon*, which was of much less Importance to the Crown of *France* than *Bretagne*. So without further Consideration, he ordered *Rennes* Capital of the Dutchy to be invested, where the Princess then was. During the Siege which lasted some Months, *Ann* sent to *England* *John Bouteiller* Lord of *Maupertuis*, and *Peter Cojalu*, to demand Succours of *Henry*. Shortly after she sent likewise the Countess *de la Val*, and the Marshal *de Rieux* and some others, to inform him of the Condition she was in, and to demonstrate to him that *Bretagne* was just upon the Point of falling into

Charles besieges the Dutcheſs in Rennes.

Another Embassy from Ann to Henry. May 23. p. 443. Another June 3.

the

1491.
p. 446.
July 7.

the Hands of *France*. This Embassy furnished the King with a Handle to borrow Money of his Subjects to enable him to make War upon *France*. And yet though he seemed to be in a great Hurry, he gave no Orders for the levying of Forces. But he was very Intent upon collecting the *Loans*.

League
with Fer-
dinand
and Maxi-
milian
confirmed.

Motives of
these three
Allies.

Not long after the League between *Henry* and *Ferdinand* was renewed. They agreed once more, that in *May*, or at farthest in *June* next Year, each of them should enter *France* at the Head of an Army. *Maximilian* promised likewise to do the same, and sent an Aid of two Thousand Men to the Dutches his Wife. But all this tended only to make a great Noise in order to deter the King of *France* from his Design to conquer *Bretagne*. It was not the Intention either of *Henry* or *Ferdinand*, or *Maximilian* to make War upon *France*. *Ferdinand* was then wholly taken up with the War of *Grenada*, and if he leagued with *Henry*, it was purely to oblige King *Charles*, by the Terror of the League, to restore *Roussillon*, being very ready to go from it, the Moment he should be possessed of that Province. The Aim of the King of the *Romans*, who had neither *Men* nor *Money*, was to engage the Kings of *England* and *Spain* in a War with *France*, and to reap all the Fruits of it himself, by the Possession of the Dutches and Dutchy of *Bretagne*. So that *Henry* not being able to rely in any Measure upon such Allies, and seeing *Bretagne* was as good as lost, was unwilling to stand up alone in its Defence. His sole Aim was to secure by the Dread of that League, the Payment of what was owing to him from *France* and *Bretagne*. Mean while both *Henry* and *Ferdinand* were under a necessity in order to attain their Ends, to make as if they meant in good earnest to wage War with *France*.

Charles
VIII de-
mands
Ann in
Marriage.

Whilst these two Monarchs were taking Measures to accomplish their Designs, and the Ambassadors of *Bretagne* were waiting in vain at *London*, *Charles* caused the Siege of *Rennes* to be carried on. But finding the Siege was in an ill Way, and the Season far advanced,

he

he fought and hit upon a speedier and more effectual Way than the Sword to make sure of the Possession of *Bretagne*. He won by his Liberalities, all the young Dutcheſs's Council, and got them to perſwade her to break off her Marriage with *Maximilian*, and take himſelf for her Huſband. It may be he had formed that Project before. But however he diſcovered it not till the Siege of *Rennes*. As ſoon as he was ſure of the Concurrence of the Lords of *Bretagne*, he cauſed the Dutcheſs then not above fifteen Years of Age, to be importuned to ſuch a Degree that they did not give her a Moment's Reſpite. She ſtood out courageouſly at firſt againſt all their Sollicitations, affirming ſhe could never bring herſelf to be falſe to a Prince whom ſhe had eſpouſed with her own Conſent. But it was repreſented to her, that *Maximilian* had forſaken her firſt. That inſtead of coming in Perſon to defend her, or at leaſt, of ſending her Succours in proportion to her Wants, he had ſat down quietly in *Germany*, as if what paſſed in *Bretagne* no way concerned him. That in the preſent Poſture of his Affairs, it was impoſſible to hinder *Bretagne* from becoming a Province of *France*, and then *Maximilian* would regard her ſtill leſs, when he ſaw her ſtrip of her Dominions. That perhaps ſhe would have the Shame and Confuſion to ſee that he himſelf would break off the Match. That then ſhe would loſe at once both her Eſtate and her Spouſe, and reduce her Subjects to a wretched Slavery. That in marrying the King of *France*, ſhe might ſecure by a Treaty the Sovereignty of *Bretagne*, and preſerve the Liberties of the *Bretons* : Whereas by an obſtinate and fruit-leſs Deſenſe, ſhe would ruin her Subjects without reaping any Advantage her ſelf. In fine, that the King of *France* was more proper for one of her Age. That the glorious Titles of *Queen of the Romans*, and *Empreſs* ought not to tempt her, ſince that of *Queen of France*, with a real Kingdom joined to it, was not of leſs Weight. Nevertheleſs as the Dutcheſs ſtood out, *Charles* bethought himſelf of another Expedient to vanquiſh

He gains
her Council.

She reſuſes
to comply.

1491.
Charles
employs
the Duke of
Orleans,

who pre-
wails with
the Dutch-
ess, and
the Marri-
age is con-
cluded
Argentre.
Mezerai.
The Am-
bassadors
of England
with-
draw.

Henry
prepares
for War.

vanquish her Resolution. He went himself and took the Duke of *Orleans* out of the Tower of *Bourges*, where he was confined after the Battle of *St. Aubin*, and told him, that knowing how great Confidence the young Dutchess of *Bretagne* had in him, he desired him in return for his Freedom, to go and try to perswade her to comply with his Suit. The Duke of *Orleans*, who was grown very weary of his Imprisonment, willingly accepted of the Office, and repairing to *Rennes*, he at length brought the Dutchess to agree to the Match, and the Marriage was accordingly concluded *December* the 16th 1491.

Whilst this Affair was in Hand, *Charles* amused the *English* Ambassadors, being unwilling to conclude any Thing or so much as treat with them till he saw the Issue of his Negotiation with *Ann*. At length, the Ambassadors hearing that the Marriage was just upon the Point of Conclusion, withdrew about the latter End of *November*, without taking Leave. Thus *Henry* saw, not without Confusion, that he had lost the Fruits of his avaritious *Politicks*, not only as he had not saved *Bretagne*, but chiefly as the Re-imbursment of the Money he had advanced, was become more precarious than ever. However, he had one After-game left, which he knew how to play with Skill, and which brought him off, if not with Honour, at least with Money in his Pocket, which was the Thing he had all along been driving at. Luckily for him, *Charles* was infatuated with his Design to conquer the Kingdom of *Naples*. As a Rupture with *England* would have laid invincible Obstacles in his Way, he thought it was his Part to leave no Stone unturned to avoid a War. *Henry* on his Part, well knowing that at the present Juncture, *Charles* would not scruple to purchase a Peace, made as if he highly resented the Affront he had received, and was bent to be revenged at any rate. The Moment his Ambassadors had told him how Matters stood, he issued out Orders to levy Forces, and get Transport-Ships ready, giving to understand, that he was going to take

ake in Hand the most dreadful War that had ever been waged between *England* and *France*. He seemed to prepare to tread in the Steps of *Edward III* and *Henry V*, and not to think of stopping till he had wrested the Crown of *France* from the *House of Valois*. We shall see presently to what all this furious Ardour ended.

1491.

Maximilian raged and fumed when he heard *Charles* had thus robbed him of his Wife. He threatened, like *Henry*, to carry Fire and Sword into the Bowels of *France*, in revenge of so deadly an Affront. On the other Side, the Archduke *Philip* demanded his Sister *Margaret* who was at *Paris*, and had been contracted to King *Charles*. But the Court of *France* did not yet think fit to send back that Princess. They were afraid neither of the Father nor the Son. They were wholly intent upon laying the Storm which was gathering on the Side of *England* and *Spain*, and which appeared much more violent than it really was. But before I relate the Effects of this Quarrel, it will be necessary to say a Word of the Affairs of *Scotland*.

The King
of the Ro-
mans
threatens
high.

Since *James IV*'s Accession to the Crown of *Scotland*, he had been hard put to it to maintain himself on the Throne. The Troubles which immediately broke out, were still kept on Foot by the Policy of the King of *England*, who took care to foment them. He now and then gave the *Scotch* Male-Contents some little Aid, which enabled them to hold up their Heads, but not to make any great Progress against their King. It is a Piece of Policy very common with Princes to foment the Troubles of their Neighbours, under a Notion that it is a most effectual Way to keep Peace at Home, though there are some who would make a Conscience of using such a Means. But *Henry* was not of that Number. He even seems to have been less scrupulous in that Point than a great many others, since we find in the *Collection of the Publick Acts*, that the Lord *Botbwell* and Sir *Thomas Todde*, both *Scotchmen*, had engaged to deliver into his Hands the Persons of the King of *Scotland*, and the Duke of

Affairs of
Scotland
Buchan.

Two
Scotch-
men bar-
gain to de-
liver up
the King to
Henry.
Act. Pub.
XII. 440.

1491. *Ross* his Brother, the which could not be done without some notable Piece of Treachery. It even appears by the *Act*, that he had lent the Earl of *Boghan* and Sir *Thomas Todde*, 266 *l.* 13 *s.* 4 *d.* *Sterling*, to enable them to put their Design in Execution, and that *Todde* had left his Son in Hostage for Security. This *Act* is dated *April* the 17th 1491.

Truce between
England
and Scotland
in
vain.

ibid.
p. 462.

Another
Truce.

p. 473.

This Project having miscarried, *Henry* who was preparing for the War with *France*, had a Mind first to screen himself from the Diversions which the *Scots* might make in *England* during his Absence. *James* for his Part desired nothing more than to deprive those of his Subjects that were in Arms against him, of the Protection they had all along met with from the King of *England*. So the two Kings having sent their Ambassadors to *Caldstream* upon *Tweed*, a Treaty of Truce was concluded there, from the 21st of *December*, to that Day five Years 1496. By this Treaty the City of *Berwick* with its District was to stand neuter, and the Lordship of *Lorn* in *Scotland*, with the little Island of *Lundey* belonging to *England*, were excepted out of the Truce. *Henry* ratified the Treaty *January* the 9th 1492. But in all appearance the King of *Scotland*, whether bribed by *France*, or from some other Motive, refused to do the same. He agreed however to a much shorter Truce, from the 21st of *February* 1492, to the 10th of *November* following.

1492.
France is
threatened
on all
sides.

France seemed to be threatened with a furious War on all Hands. *Maximilian* egged it on to the utmost of his Power, reckoning that *Philip* his Son, then Twenty Years old, would make a powerful Diversion in *Flanders*, whilst the Allies should act in other Places. *Henry* was openly preparing for War with great Noise and Bustle. In short, *Ferdinand* and *Isabella*, who had just put a glorious Period to the War with the *Moors* by the taking of *Grenada*, publicly threatened to invade *France* from the Side of *Spain*. *Charles* therefore would have had enough upon his Hands, if this powerful League had been in reality, what it was in appearance.

pearance. After he had gotten Possession of *Bretagne*, he turned his Thoughts to his grand Project, concerning the Conquest of *Naples*. But he must first dispel the Storm that was gathering in *Spain*, *England*, and *Flanders*. Whilst he was wholly taken up with his Affair, *Henry* was no less Intent upon his own Concerns.

In the Beginning of the Year 1492 he assembled the Parliament, and communicated to both Houses his Design to make War upon *France*, not with intent to ask their Advice, but to acquaint them with his Resolution to exert his utmost to recover the Kingdom of *France*, which he called the Inheritance of his Ancestors. To enflame them the more, he set before their Eyes the glorious Battles of *Crecy*, *Poitiers*, and *Azincourt*, where the *English* alone with a small Number of Forces; vanquished the strongest Armies of *France*. He would by that insinuate to them, that he was no less a Warriour than *Edward III*, the Prince of *Wales* his Son, and *Henry V*. In demanding an Aid of Money proportionable to the Greatness of the Enterprize, he exhorted the House of Commons to spare the Purfes of the Poor, and to lay the Tax upon the richer Sort, not at all questioning whether they would grant what he required. Certainly great fault might have been found with the manner wherein he had laid out the former *Subsidy*. It was granted for the Defence of *Bretagne*, and yet the Dutchy was lost without his having vouchsafed to use the least endeavour to prevent it. But the Conquest of the Kingdom of *France* was a very proper Decoy to draw in the Parliament. The Truth is, the King had no Mind at all to imbark in so hazardous an Undertaking. He was very sensible that *France* being at Unity with it self, as it then was, the Conquest of it would be too difficult a Task. Of his two Allies, the one had *Will* but not *Power*, and the other had *Power* but not *Will*, his Aim being by an outward show of War, to come at a Peace which might procure him the Restitution of *Roussillon*. Besides, as he

1491,

Henry acquainted the Parliament with his Design to war upon France.

The King's private Aim,

1492. had but just cleared his Hands of the *Moors*, he was not in Condition to begin a fresh War with *France*. However *Henry* showed to his Parliament and Council an ardent Desire to render his Name famous by the Conquest of *France*, or at least of *Normandy* and *Guienne*. In this he had a double View of Profit, upon his *Subjects* by means of a *Subsidy* for the War, and upon his *Enemies* for a *Peace*, which would secure him the Payment of what was due to him. He plainly foresaw that the falling off of the King of the *Romans* and of *Ferdinand* would afford him a plausible excuse to give over a War which he was taking in Hand with so much Noise. The Archbishop of *Canterbury* and the Bishop of *Exeter* were the only Persons that knew his real Intentions. Shortly after the last was removed to the *See* of *Bath* and *Wells*.

The Parli-
ament
grants a
Benevo-
lence.

The Parliament took Fire as the King expected, and granted him a very considerable Supply of Money, the which pursuant to his Desire, was to be levied upon the *Rich* by the Name of a *Benevolence*. This sort of *Tax* was set on Foot by *Edward IV* without consent of Parliament. *Richard III*, to ingratiate himself with the People, abolished it, but this Parliament revived it, and set to it the Seal of their Authority *.

Embassy
from
France.
Feb. 5.
Act. Pub.
XII. 470.

Shortly after *Henry* received Ambassadors from King *Charles*, who brought him Proposals which were not made Publick. There was Reason to believe that nothing was concluded in the Conferences which the Archbishop of *Canterbury* and Bishop *Fox* had with them, since the Preparations for War were still seen to go on. However, it is very likely that these Ambassadors laid the first Foundations of the Peace which was made before the End of the Year.

In

* Bishop *Morton* the Chancellor is said to make use of this Dilemma in his Instructions to the Commissioners, which some called his *Port*, others his *Crutch*. That if they met with any that were sparing, they should tell them, That they must needs Have, because they laid up; and if they were Spenders, they must needs Have, because it was visible in their manner of living. Bacon.

In the Month of *June* the Queen was delivered of a Prince; who succeeded the King his Father by the Name of *Henry VIII.*

1492.
Birth of
Prince
Henry.

The Preparations which were making in *England* came in good Season for the Archduke *Philip*. Since last Year the *Gantois* had revolted against him once more, and set at their Head *Philip de Cleves* a great Stickler for *France*. Some Troubles in *Holland* having prevented the Archduke from endeavouring to stifle this Revolt in its Birth, it was the middle of this Year first before he marched against *Philip de Cleves*, and besieged him in *Sluice*. He would have found it a hard Matter to take that Place, if *Henry* had not sent him an Aid of Twenty-two Ships, and Two Thousand Five Hundred Men. With these Succours he was enabled to compel the Rebels to sue for Peace, and deliver up *Sluice*.

Succours
sent to the
Archduke.

As the King had no Intention to push vigorously the War with *France*, he was not over-hasty in his Preparations, being well-pleased to begin the Campaign late that he might end it the sooner. Mean while, he sent Ambassadors to *France* to show that he was willing to try fair Means before he came to Force. But it is extremely probable, that this Embassy was sent purely to finish the settling with King *Charles* the Terms of the Peace. Moreover, the King's Honour was to be secured, who after having made so much noise, was unwilling to give over without a seeming Necessity. To that End he must go Hand in Hand with the King of *France*. At the same Time *Henry* sent Ambassadors to the King of the *Romans*, and to *Ferdinand*, to call upon them to take the Field and enter *France* according to their Treaty. But he knew well enough that they had not the Power or the Will to perform their Engagements. *Maximilian* had no Army, and *Ferdinand* was then in Treaty with *Charles* about the Restitution of *Roussillon*. And yet, *Henry* making as if he was ignorant of these Things, seemed to have great Dependence upon them. In the Beginning of *August*, he issued out Orders for the levying a greater

The war
like Preparations go on but slowly.
Embassy to France.
Jan. 12.
p. 481.

Henry calls upon Maximilian and Ferdinand to invade France.

He makes new Levies.

1491.

He passes
over to
Calais.
P. 487.

Number of Forces, and on the 22d of the same Month he appointed *Commissioners* to confer at *Caldstream* with those of *Scotland*. All this afforded him Pretences to delay his Expedition. At length, though not till the 2d of *October* *, he came to *Sandwich* in order to embark, having constituted by *Patent* his eldest Son *Arthur* Prince of *Wales*, *Guardian* of the Realm. Such of his Courtiers who were not in his Secrets, could not forbear telling him that it was a little of the latest to begin to take the Field. But he answered them, *That he intended not to make a Summer's Business of the War, and therefore it did not signify when it began. That he had Calais at his back where he might Winter, in order to be in greater readiness to open the Campaign early next Spring.* He arrived the same Day at *Calais*, where his whole Army being drawn together, amounted to Twenty-five Thousand Foot and Sixteen Hundred Horse.

Here receives
Advices,
which
give him
a Handle
to make
Peace.

Before he embarked, *Henry* had received a Letter from the Marshal *Desguerd*, offering a Negotiation of Peace in *England*. But he thought it would look better to treat in *France* itself. Hardly was he landed at *Calais*; before the Ambassadors he had sent to the King of the *Romans* came thither, and gave him to understand that *Maximilian* was wholly unprepared to enter *France* as he had promised. This News was immediately made known to the whole Army. Some Days after he received from his Ambassadors in *Spain* Letters which were likewise made publick, importing that *Ferdinand* had concluded a Peace with the King of *France*, who had promised to restore *Roussillon*, without demanding the Three Hundred Thousand Crowns, which *Lewis XI.* had lent upon that Country. *Henry* knew all this before; but he had ordered Matters so that these Advices should come in the Neck of one another, just after his Arrival in *France*, that it might appear that he was forced to the Peace he intended to make. Upon these Advices, at which he feigned to be very

* The 6th of *October* according to *Bacon*.

very much surprized, he agreed that *Richard Fox* Bishop of *Bath* and *Wells*, and the Lord *d' Aubigny* Governour of *Calais* should enter into a Conference at *Estaples* with the Marshal *Desguerd*. He himself however marched the 15th of *October* to go and besiege *Boulogne*, and in four Days time sat down before the Place.

1492.

He ap-
pointsCommission-
ers so
treas.

It must be remarked that King *Charles* was then at *Tours*, and though the warlike Preparations in *England* had made a great Noise, there was no Army in *Picardy* to oppose the Invasion of the *English*; at least no History mentions any such Thing. This is a clear Evidence that *Henry* in all his Proceedings had gone Hand in Hand with the King of *France*, who was not so unprovided with Troops but that he could have sent an Army strong enough to stop his Progress. So, this pretended Siege of *Boulogne* was only an Artifice to dishearten the *English*, that by considering the Difficulties of a Siege at such a Season of the Year, they might be the less surprized to see a Peace concluded. At the End of Eight Days, *Henry* received at the Camp before *Boulogne* the Articles of Peace agreed upon by the Commissioners of both Parties, with the Approbation of the Two Kings, the Substance whereof was as follows:

Remark on
the King's
Conduct.

I. That the King of *France* should pay off the Debt contracted by his Queen for the Defence of *Bretagne*, which Debt, according to the *English* Ambassador's Account, amounted to Six Hundred and Twenty Thousand Crowns of Gold, *French* Money.

Articles
agreed up-
on by the
Commis-
sioners of the
two Kings.

II. That the King of *France* should pay the King of *England* the Arrears of the yearly Pension of Fifty Thousand Crowns which *Lewis XI.* paid to *Edward IV.*, amounting in all to a Hundred Twenty-five Thousand Crowns.

A& Pub.
XII. 489.

III. That the King of *France* should pay these two Debts at several Times, namely, Fifty Thousand *Livres* every Year, or Twenty Thousand *French* Crowns till the whole was paid,

IV. Whereas

1492.

IV. Whereas in the Bond given by the Dutcheſs of *Bretagne* to the King of *England*, there was no Sum ſpecified, the King of *England* ſhould be obliged to make Proof of his Debt before Commissioners from *Bretagne* or *France*, which ſhould be ſent to *England* for that Purpoſe.

V. That the two Kings ſhould name ſuch of their Allies as they ſhould have a mind to include in the Peace, who ſhould be obliged to declare within four Months, whether they would be included or not.

VI. That in caſe the King of the *Romans*, and the Archduke *Philip* his Son deſired to be included in the Treaty, and if afterwards the King of *France* ſhould happen in any manner whatever to invade their Country, it ſhould be lawful for the King of *England* to aſſiſt them. But if on the contrary they ſhould fall upon the King of *France*, the King of *England* ſhould give them no Succours.

VII. That in caſe the two Kings approved of theſe Articles, they ſhould give each other Hoſtages till the Treaty was drawn up and ſigned in Form.

Henry
asks the
Opinion of
his principal
Officers,

who ad-
viſe him to
Peace.

As theſe Articles exactly correſponded with what Henry had propoſed to himſelf ever ſince the Beginning of the War of *Bretagne*, there is no queſtion but they were framed by himſelf or his own Ambaſſadors. And yet he would have them paſs for Propoſals from the *French* King, and feigned to doubt whether he ſhould accept or reject them. To that Purpoſe he called a Council of all the Lords and general Officers, and ſent them the Articles, with his Orders to give him their real Opinion of them. As in all appearance this Council was managed by ſome Perſon of great Credit who was in the King's Secrets, all that were preſent unaniſmouſly agreed that he ought to accept of the Terms. They gave their Reaſons at large under all their Hands, which in ſhort, omitting the Exag- gerations, were as follow:

I. The

I. The first Reason was taken from the Length of the Nights, the Coldness of the Weather, the Want of Provisions which might happen because they were to come by Sea, the Fear of Distempers, and the like. 1492.
Their Reasons for so doing.
p. 490.

II. The second Reason was grounded upon the Consideration of the Sum tendered, being larger than any that had ever been paid by *France* to the King's Predecessors; and likewise upon the Apprehension of the Murmurings the Refusal of a Peace might occasion in *England* and in the Army.

III. They alledged as a third Reason, the great Advantage that would accrue by the Peace to the King of the *Romans* and the Archduke: The Benefit they had already received by it in having the Town of *Sluice* restored to them; and lastly, the Fruits which the *English* Merchants would reap by it, since the Peace would secure their Trade with the *Low-Countries*.

IV. They said, that the King had honourably kept his Word with his Allies in spite of the Instances of his Council, who solicited him to put off his Expedition to a better Season, and till his Allies should be ready: That he had led his Army into *France*, put himself in a Condition to encounter alone all the Enemy's Forces, and exposed his Person to the greatest Hazards, at a Time when his Allies were fallen from their Word: That therefore, if the War was not carried on, he might very justly cast the Blame upon them.

V. That the King was far from being in the same Circumstances *Edward* IV was in, when he led an Army into *France*: That *Edward* was joined by the Duke of *Burgundy* with all his Forces, and by several *French* Lords who were in his Interest: That he was in Possession of all the Towns as far as the *Somme*, and began the War in the midst of Summer: That on the contrary, the King was not assisted with any foreign Troops: That the Moment he was out of the Gates of *Calais*, he had entered the Enemy's Country, and was advanced as far as *Boulogne*: That he had razed several Places, as *Andres* and *Montory*, and had stood

1492. Four and Twenty Hours ready for Battle, defying the whole Army of *France*.

VI. That it was very likely that the People of *England* would thank the King for a Peace which would put an end to *Taxes*, and restore the publick Tranquillity.

VII. They added once more, that the restoring the Archduke to his Dominions would redound to the King's Honour, and the Nation's Benefit, by reason of their Trade with his Subjects.

VIII. They said, that before the Siege of *Boulogne*, it was thought to be a weak Place and easy to be taken: but on the contrary, it was found to be well fortified, provided with a strong Garrison, and good store of Ammunition and Provisions for a long Space. That therefore, in all Appearance if the King went on with the Siege, he would be forced to raise it with Disgrace, whereas by making a Peace he could retire with Honour.

IX. Their last Reason was, that it was impracticable to continue the War during the Winter, without utterly destroying the Army, to the great Grief and Consternation of the whole Kingdom.

*Remarks
on these
Reasons.*

If a Man considers these Reasons never so little, he will find them all false and illusory, except the Article of the Money, which was the only true one. Without weighing them too particularly, I shall content myself with observing, that of all the Inconveniencies alledged by the Officers, there was not one but what the King might have foreseen, and actually did foresee. He could blame no body but himself for setting out so late. All in the 5th Article relating to *Edward IV.* is evidently false. As for the Murmurs of the People, which they seemed to dread in case the King rejected the Peace, it was much more probable on the contrary, that the People would be dissatisfied to see the Money given for a War with *France*, employed in making a dishonourable Peace, which turned to no one's Advantage but the King's. In a Word,

nothing

Nothing was a plainer Sign how fully satisfied the King himself was of the little Benefit which would accrue to the Nation by this Peace, than the Precaution he took to get it approved of by the Officers of his Army.

Henry feigning to be carried by these Reasons to accept the Peace, the Treaty was drawn up in Form, and signed at *Estaples* on the 3d of *November*. Charles ratified it the 6th of the same Month. He was then at *Bours*, where he was under no Concern about the Invasion which seemed to hang over his Head, though, at all times, an *English* Army in *France* had made his predecessors extremely uneasy. What was peculiar to this Treaty, was, that notwithstanding it was called a *Treaty of Peace*, it was however to expire with the Lives of the two Kings. But the Successor of him that should die first, was to ratify it within a Year after his Accession to the Crown. I imagine that this was done on purpose to salve the Silence touching the Kingdom of *France*, or at least of *Guienne* and *Norandy*, of which there was no mention, though the War was proclaimed purely upon that Score. Meanwhile, this Treaty, the main Business whereof was the Payment of two Debts, was to be approved and confirmed by the *States* of *France*, and the Parliament of *England*. This shows that it was looked upon only as a bare Truce, and accordingly it was called a Treaty of Peace. But on the other Hand, it is hard to conceive how they could consider as a Treaty of Peace, a Treaty wherein the chief Point in dispute was not settled, and which was to be in force but till the Death of the two Kings. Can any thing in the World be more like a Truce? Be this as it will, Henry took great care to see that the King of *France* ratified every particular Article of the Treaty, and especially those relating to the Payment of the Money. Charles was likewise on his Part very punctual in paying the Fifty Thousand *Livres* every Year, as was also *Lewis XII.* his Successor.

Treaty concluded at Estaples. P. 497.

1492.
*Reflections
 on the Af-
 fair of
 Bretagne.*

After this manner ended the War of *Bretagne*, which had lasted ever since the Year 1487. I say the War with *Bretagne*, because that I have just been speaking of was only a Consequence of the other. Henry reaped the Benefit he had promised himself; that is to say, a round Sum of Money to his own private Use. In the first Place he obtained of the Parliament a *Tenth* of all the personal Estates of his Subjects, of which he laid out no more than was necessary for the levying and keeping Six Thousand Men for Eight Months. But in this he only advanced the Money, being repaid the same with Interest. We have seen that he made his Charges amount to Six Hundred and Twenty Thousand Crowns of Gold [or 124,000*l.*] a vast Sum in those Days, when Money was much scarcer than it is at present*. In the next Place, he borrowed Money throughout the whole Kingdom, which in all appearance was never repaid. He had likewise a *Subsidy* under the Name of a *Benevolence*, which amounted to a very great Sum, much beyond what was necessary to maintain his Army, the two or three Months it was on foot. Lastly, he got a Hundred and Twenty-five Thousand Crowns [or 25000*l.*] for the *Arrears* of the Pension due to *Edward IV.* But then he suffered *Bretagne* to be lost, to the irreparable Damage of *England*, since her Alliance with the Duke of *Bretagne* gave her such an Advantage over *France*, as could never be retrieved since. Moreover, may it not be said that the Recovery of the Money he had advanced in the Affair of *Bretagne* was owing rather to his good Luck than his Policy? Was he not entirely beholden for it to the King of *France*'s Design upon the Kingdom of *Naples*, which induced him to purchase a Peace? Had it not been for that, Henry would

* We may guess how far a Shilling went in those Days, when a good while after in King *Edward's* the Sixth Reign, a large House within the Precincts of the Court in *Channon-row* in *Westminster*, was let to no less Person than the *Comptroller* of the King's Household for Thirty Shillings a Year. See *J. S. Life of Thomas Smith*, p. 226.

would have found it a hard Matter to recover his Money, and who knows what might have happened, had he been forced to get it by Dint of Sword? But the Advantages *Charles* reaped by this Peace were of much greater Importance. For the yearly Pension of fifty Thousand *Livres*, which he received with Interest from *Bretagne*, he annexed that Dutchy to the Crown of *France*, and deprived the *English* of their most considerable Ally.

1492.

I have dwelt the longer upon the Circumstances of this Affair, because they serve to discover fully the *Genius* and *Character* of *Henry VII.* Ever greedy of Money, and regarding nothing any farther than his own Interest was concerned, he devised Means to find his Account both in War and Peace, and to turn every Thing to his own Advantage. It was he that by his politick Views to his own private Interest, gave such a Turn as we have seen to the Affairs of *Bretagne*.

The same Day the Peace of *Estaples* was signed, the Ambassadors of *England* and *Scotland* concluded at *Caldstream* a Truce, from the 3d of *November* this Year, to the 30th of *April* 1494.

Truce
with Scot-
land.
p. 465.

Henry having made a Peace with *France* according to his own Scheme, sat out for *London*, where he arrived on the 17th of *December*.

The King
returns to
England.

On the 5th of *November* the Archduke's Forces had surprized *Arras*, which had been fifteen Years in the Hands of the *French*. *Philip* having refused to be included in the Peace of *Estaples*, the War continued in *Flanders* till the next Year.

Affairs of
Flanders.

This very Year 1492 in the Month of *August*, *Christopher Columbus* sailed the first Time from *Cadiz*, with King *Ferdinand's* License, in quest of the new World.

Colum-
bus's first
Voyage.

Henry imagined he might hope for the future to reign in Peace. He saw among his Subjects no likelihood of a Revolt. Not a Prince or Princess of the *House of York* was in a Condition to give him any Disturbance. He kept the Earl of *Warwick* Prisoner in the Tower. *Edward IV's* Daughters were in his Power,

1493.

er,

1493;

er, and there was no Lord of the *York-Party* of Authority enough to raise Commotions in the Kingdom. On the other Hand, he was at Peace or in Truce with his Neighbours, and in the seven Years and a half that he had sat on the Throne, he had by his good Husbandry, heaped up such large Sums of Money, as none of his Predecessors had ever seen the like in their Hands at one Time. And yet this State of Prosperity was not capable of dismaying his Enemies. Whilst he was wholly taken up with the Affairs I have been relating, the Dutchess Dowager of *Burgundy* was labouring to raise him Disturbances at Home, so much the more dangerous as he suspected nothing of the Matter. This Princess was not ignorant, how well affected the *English* and *Irish* were to the House of *York*; and upon this it was that she chiefly built her Hopes of dethroning *Henry*. Though the Business of *Lambert Simnel* had miscarried, she did not ascribe the ill Success so much to the Project it self, as to the Managers. Besides, *Henry* was exposed to the hazard of a Battle which he might have lost, and it was not impossible but he might be vanquished, if he should be in the same Case again. Thus she did not despair of wresting the Crown from the *House of Lancaster*, or rather of *Tudor*, which done, she reckoned it would be no hard Matter to restore the *House of York*.

The Dutchess of Burgundy labours to give Henry Trouble.

She sets up one Perkin Warbeck to personate the Duke of York.

History of Perkin.

Ever since *Simnel's* Misfortune, she had never ceased to spread a Report, either by herself or by her emissaries, that *Richard* Duke of *York* second Son of *Edward IV* had escaped the Cruelty of his Uncle *Richard III*, and was still alive. This she did to prepare the World to receive a second *Fantom*, who was to personate the young Prince her Nephew, as *Lambert Simnel* had done the Earl of *Warwick*. In order to this, she looked out carefully for young Lads of the Duke of *York's* Age, fit for her Purpose. At length she met with one in whom she fancied she beheld all the Qualities requisite to represent that Prince. His Name was *Perkin Warbeck*, Son of [*John Osbeck*] a *Jewish-Convert* of *Tournay*, who had lived a good while

1493.

while at *London*. *Edward IV* having occasion to know him, and receive some Piece of Service from him, was pleased to do him the Honour to stand *Godfather* to one of his Children, and gave him the Name of *Peter*, from whence was formed the Diminutive *Peterkin* or *Perkin*. Some Years after *Osbeck* being returned to *Flanders*, placed young *Perkin* with one of his Relations at *Antwerp*, who kept him some Time. This Child was so handsome, and endowed with Qualities so far above his Birth, that many suspected *Edward IV* to be his Father. And indeed it was somewhat extraordinary, that *Edward* should stand *Godfather* to one of so mean Parentage. Be that as it will, *Perkin* going from *Antwerp* lived up and down in *Flanders*, and shifted Habitations so often, that when *Henry* in Time would have had him traced, in order to know the whole *Story* of his Life, he found it a very difficult Thing. As *Perkin* conversed generally with the *English* settled in the *Low-Countries*, he was so perfect a Master of the *English* Tongue, that he might easily be taken for an *Englishman*, especially as he had spent his Childhood at *London*.

This Youth being mentioned to the Dutchess of *Burgundy*, she commanded him to be brought privately to her Palace, and finding him fit for her Purpose, she took care to instruct him in the Part he was to act. Hence we may guess that *Perkin* must needs have been a Youth of great Wit and Sense, to be able to see into the Dutchess's Designs, otherwise it would have been in vain to give him Instructions. Be that as it will, she so often described *Edward IV*, his Queen, Prince *Edward* their eldest Son, and the Princesses their Daughters, that after having several Times repeated his Lesson to him, he could talk very pertinently of the Court, of the King his pretended Father, at least as far as the Duke of *York* could be supposed to know. His natural Way of relating Circumstances suitable to the Humour of Children, and some Particulars of *Edward's* Court, made the Dutchess believe that he would not fail to gain Credit when
he

*The
Dutchess
instructs
him.*

1493.

he came to appear in the World. Above all, she took Care to make him perfect in what he was to feign to have passed, whilst he was in the *Sanctuary* of *Westminster* with the Queen, and when he was taken from thence by the Contrivance of *Richard III*, and particularly in the manner of his escaping the Hands of the Executioners who were ordered to murder him. These were Particulars so much the easier to be feigned, as there were but few People who could contradict them. Moreover she taught him to put on the Air and Carriage of a well-bred Prince. She found the Youth to be so apt a Scholar that she herself was surprized at it. In a short Time, *Perkin* accustomed himself so to *talk* and *act* like a Prince, that one would have sworn he had been born of Royal Parents, and educated in a Palace.

She sends
him to
Portugal,

It is not known for certain, when the Dutches of *Burgundy* took *Perkin* Home to instruct him. But it is very likely that it was not long after the Battle of *Stoke*, wherein the Earl of *Lincoln* and *Lambert Simnel* were overthrown. However that be, the Affair of *Bretagne* giving that Princess a Prospect that it would not be long before *Henry* would break with *France*, as he himself would have had it believed, came to a Resolution to set up *Perkin* by the Name of the Duke of *York*, as soon as the War was begun. Mean while, being very sensible that if he appeared first in *Flanders* or in any Town of the *Low-Countries*, the World would not fail to suspect her. She sent him into *Portugal* *, where he lived *incognito* about a Year. At length in 1492 the War between *England* and *France* seeming to be unavoidable, she dispatched Orders to *Perkin* to repair to *Ireland*, where in all appearance she had already been tampering with several Persons of note. *Perkin* instantly obeyed, and arriving at *Cork*, gave out that he was the Duke of *York*, Son of *Edward IV*, in which he was countenanced by the Mayor,

* With the Lady *Brampton* an *English* Lady, with one to have an Eye over him. *Bacon*.

Mayor, who in all likelihood was in the Plot. A few Days after, he wrote to the Earls of *Desmond* and *Kildare*, great Sticklers for the *House of York*, acquainting them with his Arrival, and desiring them to come and join him. 1493.

Henry was then busy in making Preparations for his Expedition against *France*. As the Dutcheſs of *Burgundy* had conjectured that he would ſet out in the Spring, ſhe had expected that he would be embarked in the War with *France* by the Time *Perkin* ſhould appear in *Ireland*, in which ſhe was miſtaken. The Report that the Duke of *York* was come from *Portugal* to *Ireland*, cauſed no Alteration in the King's Meaſures. He imagined it to be only a Contrivance to take him off from his Expedition. Preſently after he was told, that the Duke of *York* who had appeared in *Ireland* was gone from thence in order to repair to *France*, the which made him not a little uneaſy. And indeed the News was but too true. It fell out ſome Time before, that one *Frion* Secretary to the King for the *French* Tongue, had withdrawn from Court and fled to *Paris*, where he was very well received. Charles' VIII ſends for Perkin to Paris. This *Frion*, who followed King *Charles's* Court, having heard that the Duke of *York* was in *Ireland*, told that Monarch of it, and hinted to him, that he might make that Affair turn to ſome Account. What Opinion ſoever *Charles* might be of concerning the Pretender, he really thought that ſuppoſing he was an Impoſtor, he might however be ſerviceable to him in making a Peace with *Henry*. In this Belief he ſent *Frion* into *Ireland* to invite the Pretender in his Name to come to him, with Promise of his Protection and Aid to recover the Crown of his Anceſtors. *Perkin* ſeeing himſelf invited by a Prince ſo great and well able to aſſiſt him, departed without a Moment's Conſideration. He receives him as Duke of York. As ſoon as he was arrived in *France*, he went and waited upon the King, who gave him a very civil Reception, treated him as *Duke of York*, lodged him in his Palace, and aſſigned him a Guard, under Colour of doing him Honour, but in reality to hinder the

1493. the King of *England* from causing him to be carried off. The Courtiers in Imitation of their Master, strove who should be most forward in paying the same Respects to *Perkin* as they would have done to the Duke of *York*. Shortly after, above a hundred *Englishmen* dissatisfied with the King, repaired to *Paris* with Offers of their Service to the Pretender. But the Honours *Perkin* received at the Court of *France* were not long-lived. As soon as *Charles* was almost sure of a Peace, he dismissed him for fear *Henry* who had insisted upon it already, should make it one of the Articles of the Treaty. He did not care to have it said that he had ensnared the young Man in order to betray him into the Hands of his Enemy, as on the other Side, he was not willing the Peace should miscarry upon his Account.

but dis-
misses him
when sure
of a Peace.

Perkin
goes to the
Dutchess
of Burgun-
dy,

who feigns
to take
him for a
Cheat ;

Perkin thought himself very happy to come off so cheap. He was afraid of worse Usage, when he heard that a Peace was negotiating between the two Kings. Having readily quitted the Court of *France*, he retired into *Flanders* to the Dutchess of *Burgundy*, taking great Care not to discover that he had ever seen her before. At their first meeting, *Margaret* acted her Part extremely well : She treated him somewhat roughly, and seemed very much surprized that in her Presence he should have the Face to call himself *Duke of York*. She said publickly, that having been already imposed upon by a Counterfeit, who pretended to be the Earl of *Warwick*, she should be more upon her Guard, and it would be no easy Matter to deceive her a second Time. That therefore she advised him to march off, lest he should bring upon himself the Punishment due to his Boldness. *Perkin* seemed not at all confounded at these Threats, and confessing she was in the Right to doubt, he persisted however in affirming that he was the Duke of *York* her Nephew. The Dutchess, making as if she had a Mind to prove him a Cheat before her whole Court, put certain Questions to him which she knew well enough he could make pertinent Answers to. Accord-
ingly

ingly he replied in so natural and unaffected a manner, 1493. that the Dutchess seemed amazed at it. In short, they *but at last* played their Parts so well, that the Dutchess pretend- *owns him.* ing she could not stand out against such evident Proof, owned him for her Nephew, assigned him a Guard of thirty *Halberdiers*, and gave him the Title of the *white Rose*, which was the Badge of the *House of York*. Per- *He be-* kin on his Part laboured to convince the World that *heves very* he was the real Duke of *York*, by his natural Way of *prudently.* relating the principal Passages of his Life. If at any Time his being dismissed from the Court of *France* was objected to him, he answered with a Sigh, that it was no great Wonder a young Prince persecuted by Fortune should fall a Sacrifice to the *Policy* of two powerful Monarchs. That this very Thing was a strong Argument on his Side, since the Peace between *Charles* and *Henry* could not be established but upon his Ruin. What *Perkin* said, added to the Dutchess's publicly owning him, satisfied the whole Court that he was the true Duke of *York*, and from thence the Rumour spread throughout all the *Low-Countries*, and at last over all *Europe*.

News being brought into *England*, about the Beginning of the Year 1493, that the Duke of *York* was in *Flanders*, and owned by the Dutchess of *Burgundy*, it occasioned a great stir in *England*. The Thing was presently credited by an infinite Number of People, *Many in* some of whom were dissatisfied with the King, and *England* others were greedy of Novelty. Some blindly follow- *believe the* ed their Leaders, and others, whose Fortunes were *Duke of* desperate, wished for a Change in the Government. *York to be* The King was not generally beloved. The Loss of *alive,* *Bretagne*, his late Peace with the King of *France*, the uncivil Usage the Queen and the whole *House of York* had received and daily did receive at his Hands, and lastly, his unnecessary Taxes, were but too apt to make the People wish that what was reported might prove true.

1493.
The King's
Conduct.

The King was surprized to see with what Greediness the News was swallowed. It made him sensible that he had reason to fear the worst from the *Yorkists*, and that they would be always ready to embrace all Opportunities to ruin him if it was in their Power. He appeared however unconcerned lest his Fears should encourage his Enemies, so continuing to act as usual, he waited till they should be more open in their Designs.

He sends
the Gar-
ter to the
Duke of
Calabria.
Act. Pub.
XII. 517.
Mar. 5.

In the Beginning of the Month of *March*, Henry sent the Order of the Garter to *Alphonso* Duke of *Calabria*, eldest Son of *Ferdinand* King of *Naples*. *Alphonso* had been extremely desirous of this Honour, to insinuate to the Princes of *Italy*, that he had in the King of *England* a Protector that would not suffer him to be oppressed. He would by that have induced them to make a League with the King his Father, against *Charles VIII*, who was just upon the Point of undertaking the Conquest of the Kingdom of *Naples*.

He con-
cludes a
perpetual
Peace
with *Per-
dinand*
and *Isa-
bella*.
ibid.
Mar. 8.

A few Days after, Henry concluded at *London* a Treaty of perpetual Peace and Amity with *Ferdinand* and *Isabella* King and Queen of *Castile* and *Aragon*. This Alliance, which ran that they should be obliged to assist one another upon all Occasions, was particular in that it extended not to all the Kings of *England* and *Spain* without Distinction, but only to all their Successors sprung from them. In this same Treaty, the Marriage-Articles between Prince *Arthur* and *Catherine*, Daughter of *Ferdinand* and *Isabella* were confirmed and renewed.

Conspiracy
against the
King.

Mean while the King's Enemies, not content with countenancing the Report concerning the Duke of *York*, laboured to form a Conspiracy to dethrone him. His covetous Temper had disgusted several of those that had been fast Friends to his Person and the House of *Lancaster*. *William Stanley* Lord Chamberlain, Brother of the Earl of *Derby*, the Lord *Fitz-Walter*, Sir *Robert Clifford*, Sir *Simon Montfort*, Sir *Thomas Thwaites*, *William Barley*, were the chief Heads of the Conspiracy,

Names of
the chief
Conspira-
tors.

Conspiracy. The Lord *Chamberlain* had greatly contributed to his gaining the Battle of *Bosworth*, by declaring for him at so critical a Minute. The King owned as much : but he thought he had well rewarded him for it, by suffering him to appropriate to himself almost all the *Spoils of Bosworth-Field*, and by the Office of Lord *Chamberlain*. But *Stanley* thinking all this too little, was not satisfied. Sir *Robert Clifford* was Son of him that murdered the young Earl of *Rutland*, Brother of *Edward IV.* at the Battle of *Wakefield*, and that afterwards lost his Life in fighting for the *House of Lancaster*. Apparently, *Henry* had forgot the Affection that Family had all along expressed for his *House*, and neglected to give him a Share in his Favours. *Clifford* and *Barley* were deputed by the Conspirators to go into *Flanders*, and concert Measures with the Dutchess of *Burgundy* and the pretended Duke of *York*, in order to accomplish their Designs. The Dutchess gave them a very civil Reception, deeming it a good Omen that the professed Enemies of her *House* should be the first to come and offer their Service. Shortly after their Arrival, *Clifford* writ to his Friends in *England*, that the Duke of *York*, Son of *Edward IV.* was in *Flanders*, and that he knew him perfectly well. This News set the Conspirators all on Fire, and from that time they left no Stone unturned to win People to the Interest of the pretended Duke of *York*.

Clifford and Barley go over to Perkin.

Clifford sends back word that the Duke of York is really alive.

Whilst the King's Enemies were hard at work to create him fresh Troubles, he himself was no less Intent upon devising Means to prevent the impending Storm. His main Business was to undeceive the People, and to that end he stood in need of two sorts of Proofs. First, it was necessary to make appear that the Duke of *York* was dead ; in the second Place, that supposing he was alive, the Person that borrowed his Name was a Counterfeit.

Henry seeks how to undeceive the People.

1493.
He orders
the Mur-
derers of
the Duke of
York to be
examined.

To prove that the Duke of *York* was not living, it was necessary to produce the Evidences of those who had taken away his Life, or had seen him dead, and who were but Four in all, namely, Sir *James Tyrrel*, who was ordered by *Richard III.* to put that Prince to Death; *John Dighton*, whom *Tyrrel* employed to do the Fact; *Miles Forest* his Servant who assisted him, and the *Priest* who buried the two Princes. Of these four Persons, the *Priest* and *Forest* were dead, and there remained only *Tyrrel* and *Dighton*. These two were taken up by the King's Order and sent to Prison. Then, after a private Examination of these Witnesses, it was given out, that they agreed in their Depositions, namely, that *Dighton* and *Forest* had smothered the two Princes in their Bed: that they showed their dead Bodies to *Tyrrel*, and that the *Priest* buried them under a Stair-case. That soon after *Richard* ordered them to be removed elsewhere, by the same *Priest* who was since dead, without having discovered to any Person the Place where he laid them. It is likely however, that *Tyrrel's* Evidence was not so much for the King's Purpose as *Dighton's*, since he was detained in Prison, whereas *Dighton* was released, apparently that he might divulge his own Story.

Objections
against the
Depositi-
ons.

The Publishing of these *Evidences* had not the Effect the King expected. The Truth is, what Proof could a *Confession* amount to, taken at a private Examination, and published by him whose Interest it was to make it appear for his Turn? Then the removal of the Bodies from the Place where they were first interred, to another unknown, gave ground for strong Suspicions. Had it not been for that Removing, nothing would have been more easy than to prove the Fact, since they would have found the Bodies still under the Stair-case. Wherefore People imagined that the King, wanting so natural a Proof as this, had invented this same Removal, on purpose that it might not be thought strange that he should not make use of so convincing an Argument. Besides, the Testimony
of

of two Villains who confessed themselves guilty of so black a Crime, and whose *Evidence* made so much for the King, could not be of any great Weight. And therefore the King, finding that this Method was not sufficient to undeceive the People, made it his chief Business to discover who this Impostor really was, that pretended to be the Duke of *York*.

To bring about this Design, he found no better way than to bribe several Persons, who repaired to the pretended Duke, under colour of offering him their Service. He charged them to use all their Endeavours to find out who and whence he was, and to trace him from his Birth to the Day that he came to the Dutch-ess of *Burgundy*. At the same time he ordered them to make strict Inquiry after his Associates in *England*, and to observe narrowly every thing that passed about him. Especially he enjoined some of the craftiest, to spare no Pains to win Sir *Robert Clifford*, very much mistrusting that he had a Share in all the Secrets. 'Tis said, that in order to make Discoveries, he bribed the Domesticks, and even the very *Confessors* of the great Men he suspected. And to procure his *Spies* in *Flanders* the better Credit, he used to have them pronounced *Excommunicate* every Sunday at St. Paul's by virtue of Pope *Innocent VIII's Bull*. These *Spies* played their Part so well, that in short he came to know that the pretended Duke of *York* was no other than *Perkin Warbeck*. He had perfect Information of his Birth, Life, Actions, Profession, and of all the Places he had lived at from his Childhood; all which Particulars were instantly divulged throughout the whole Kingdom. Mean while, as these Circumstances were given out by the King, the principal Party concerned, the Generality of People did not think themselves obliged to believe them upon his bare Word. Their Prejudice made them require more evident Proofs.

The King sends Spies into Flanders,

and causes them to be excommunicated, the better to conceal them.

He learns the whole Story of Perkin, and publishes it.

Whilst the King's *Spies* were at work in *Flanders* and *England*, he had two Affairs upon his Hands which he wanted to be clear off, in case any Troubles should arise

1493. arise in the Kingdom on account of the pretended Duke of *York*. The first was to make Peace with *Scotland*: the second, to get the Peace of *Estaples* confirmed by the Pope, as had been agreed with the King of *France*. To that Purpose he sent Ambassadors to *Edinburgh* and *Rome*. The former concluded with King *James* a Truce from *April* the 30th 1494 to that Day seven Years 1501, upon the same Terms with that of *Caldstream*, which expired the Day that this was to begin. It appears by the Ambassadors Instructions, that he wished to make a Match between the King of *Scotland* and *Catherine* Daughter of the Countess of *Wiltshire*, and Grand-Daughter to the Duke of *Somerset*. But this Matter was not proposed, or at least did not succeed.

A seven
Years Truce
with Scot-
land.

Jan. 25.
Act. Pub.
XII. 533.

He de-
mands the
Pope's Bull
for the
Peace of
Estaples.
P. 531.
The Pope's
Answer.
Jun. 13.

As to the Affair of *Rome*, the Ambassadors presented to Pope *Alexander VI* a Petition for a Bull of *Excommunication* against him of the two Kings that should not keep the Treaty of *Estaples*. The Pope owned it was one of the Articles of the Treaty, and answer'd, that he was ready to grant such a Bull, provided the King of *France* was not against it, an Instrument whereof he ordered to be given to the Ambassadors.

The Emperour *Frederick* dying in *August* this Year, *Maxmilian* his Son, who was King of the *Romans*, ascended the Imperial Throne in his Room.

Morton
made a
Cardinal.

The 21st of the same Month *John Morton* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, was made *Cardinal* of *St. Anastasius*.

The King
demands
Warbeck
of the
Archduke.
P. 554.
Bacon.

Henry having had exact Information of every Thing relating to *Perkin Warbeck*, sent Ambassadors to Archduke *Philip* to desire him to deliver him up. He represented to him that it was contrary to the Law of Nations and the Alliance they had made together to protect a Counterfeit who sought to rob him of the Crown by a bare-fac'd Imposture. That he was informed of all the Circumstances of *Perkin's* Life from his Cradle, and offer'd to produce authentick Proofs of

the Cheat as well as of the Death of the Duke of York, whose Name *Warbeck* had borrowed. That *Perkin* being only a Mock-Personage set up by the Dutcheſs of *Burgundy*, he hoped the Archduke would make no Scruple to deliver him up into his Hands. *Philip* being ſtill under Age, his *Council* told the Ambaſſadors that the Archduke's Intention was to keep always a good Underſtanding with the King of *England*, and to that end would give no manner of Aſſiſtance to the pretended Duke of *York*. But that the Lands which the Dutcheſs of *Burgundy* held in the Low-Countries, were aſſign'd to her for her Dowry, with the Right of Sovereignty, which ſuffered not the Archduke to meddle with her Affairs, or to hinder her from doing what ſhe thought fit.

1493.

The Archduke's Answer.

Philip believed he had the leſs reaſon to regard the King of *England*, as he had juſt made a Truce with *Charles VIII*, by a Treaty concluded at *Senlis* the 23d of *May*. *Charles* had reſtored to the Archduke his ſiſter *Margaret*, with the Earldoms of *Artois* and *Burgundy*; but he had kept back ſome Towns with promiſe to deliver them up as ſoon as *Philip* ſhould be of Age.

Treaty of Senlis between Charles VIII and Philip.

The Ambaſſadors brought *Philip's* Answer to the King, and withal gave him to underſtand, that the Dutcheſs of *Burgundy* and he played Booty together. *Henry* was ſo provoked at this Proceeding, that he broke off all Commerce with the Archduke, and baniſhed all the *Flemings* out of his Kingdom. The Archduke did the like by the *Engliſh* which were in *Flanders*. But the Animofity between theſe two Princes went no farther, each being apprehenſive that they might one Day ſtand in need of the other's Aſſiſtance.

Rupture between Henry and Philip.

Mean while, *Henry* having at length won Sir *Robert Clifford*, who was entrusted with *Warbeck's* and the Dutcheſs's Secrets, had exact Information of the Friends they had in *England*. As it could not but be

Henry wins Clifford, who betrays Warbeck's Secrets.

1493. dangerous to let the Evil encrease, he resolved to apply proper Remedies. To that Purpose he caused to be apprehended in one and the same Day, and almost at the same Instant, the Lord *Fitz-Walter*, *John Ratcliff* *, *Montford*, *Tbwaites*, *D' Aubigny*, *Robert Ratcliff*, *Thomas Cressenor*, and *Thomas Astwood*. All these were convicted and condemned for *High-Treason*, in adhering and promising Aid to *Perkin*. The Lord *Fitz-Walter* was sent Prisoner to *Calais* with some Hopes of having his Pardon. But his Impatience having put him upon attempting to make his Escape, he was discovered and beheaded. *Montford*, one of the *Ratcliff*'s, and *D' Aubigny* were executed immediately after their Condemnation. The rest were pardoned, and those that had been apprehended upon the same Account, among whom were certain *Dominican Fryars*, and [*William Worsley*] Dean of *St. Paul's*, were set at Liberty. *William Stanley* Lord Chamberlain, was not medled with at that Time, either because he was not informed against, or because the King had a Mind to stay till he had stronger Proofs against him.

Some of the
Conspira-
tors are
put to
Death.

Henry notifies to the King of France that he would be included in the Peace of Senlis. A& Pub. P. 550.

On the 1st of *November*, *Henry* wrote to the King of *France*, desiring to be included in the Peace of *Senlis*, as it was allowed him by the Treaty. On the 17th of the same Month he sent him Word, that the same Thing was desired by *Ferdinand* King of *Naples*, and *Alphonso* Duke of *Calabria* his Son, who were expressly included in the Peace of *Senlis*, on the Part of the Emperour and Archduke. But that caused not King *Charles* to give over his Project of conquering *Naples*.

1494.
Henry
takes care
of Ireland.

England was pretty quiet during the Year 1494. *Perkin Warbeck* kept all the while in *Flanders* without offering to stir, the Execution of his Adherents having made him sensible that the King knew more of

* He was the same with the Lord *Fitzwalter*. *Tacon*

of his Affairs than he had imagined. Mean Time, Henry laboured underhand to inform himself more and more about the Circumstances of the Conspiracy, and what the Dutcheſs of *Burgundy* was hatching in *England* and elſewhere. In this Sir *Robert Clifford* whom he had gained was very ſerviceable to him. He learnt by his Means that *Perkin* had ſtill ſome Hopes in *Ireland*, and that he had writ to the Earls of *Deſmond* and *Kildare* when he landed there from *Portugal*. This Diſcovery made him reſolve to look to the Affairs of that Iſland which he had much neglected hitherto. To this Purpoſe he made Henry his ſecond Son, then but two Years old, Lieutenant or Governour of *Ireland*. But he appointed for Deputy Sir *Edward Poyningſ* a Man train'd up in Affairs, and who had been employed in ſeveral Embaſſies. He gave him a large Power as well over the *Militia*, as the *Civil Government*, that he might ſet Things upon a good Foot.

He makes
his Son Go-
vernour
Sept. 11.
and Ed-
ward
Poyningſ
Deputy.
Sept. 13.

Poyningſ upon his Arrival in *Ireland* made ſtrict Enquiry againſt ſuch as were ſuſpected of not being well affected to the King ; particularly he briskly attacked the Earls of *Deſmond* and *Kildare*. The firſt took care to keep out of the reach of the Lord Deputy : But the Earl of *Kildaire* was ſent Priſoner to *England*, from whence the King ſent him back very ſoon into his own Country, with Marks of Eſteem and Good-Will. As he was afraid of freſh Troubles in *Ireland* where a Rebellion would have been of very ill Conſequence in his preſent Circumſtances, he thought it his beſt way to prevent them by Acts of *Grace*, rather than by Severity. To that end he ſent thither a Commiſſioner with a General Pardon in Form, as well for the Earl of *Deſmond*, as for all the *Iriſh* Rebels, that he might if poſſible, ſtifle all the Seeds of Rebellion in the Iſland, where the *House of York* had but too many Friends.

1494.
A famous
Parlia-
ment in
Ireland.
Poynings
Law.
Hist. of
Irel.

Whilst *Poynings* was in *Ireland*, he held a Parlia-
ment famous for the *Statutes* which were made to the
Advantage of the Crown of *England*, and of the *En-
glish* settled in the Island. One of these *Statutes*,
which is still called *Poynings Law* *, ran, that the Par-
liament of *Ireland* should not be assembled before
the Lord Lieutenant and Council had acquainted the
King with the Reasons of its Meeting, and obtain-
ed the Royal License under the *Great Seal*. It was
also enacted, that all the *Statutes* of *England* con-
cerning the Publick, should be observed in *Ireland*.
These two *Statutes* are still in Force to this Day.

Henry ex-
acts Money
by unlaw-
ful Ways.

Tho' *Henry* had given several Proofs of his sel-
fish and covetous Temper, yet might they be dis-
guised with some Colour, because the secret Springs
of his Policy were not yet fully known. But the
Case was different with regard to what he did this
Year, when he began to pull off the Mask. The
Pretence of Foreign Affairs failing him, he extorted
large Sums from private Persons, by far-fetched
Accusations *, the sole Aim whereof was to fill
his Coffers. This way of Proceeding was the more
displeasing to the People as they plainly perceived
it sprung from his natural Disposition, seeing he
was not driven by any Necessity to make use of such
extraordinary Methods. He was in Peace with all
the Princes of *Europe*. He had drawn from the
Parliament two very considerable *Subsidies*, of which
he had not expended a Fourth Part, and even that
was repaid him with Interest. Moreover, besides
the Benefit of divers Confiscations, he received every
Year fifty Thousand *Livres* of the King of *France*.
All this added to the usual Revenues of the Crown,
which

* My Lord *Bacon* calls that *Poynings Law* whereby all the *Sta-
tutes* of *England* (to the 10 of *Hen. VII.*) were made to be of
Force in *Ireland*.

* Particularly by Forfeitures upon *Penal Laws*. *Bacon*.

which were no less than in former Reigns, seemed to enable him to ease his Subjects, instead of oppressing them with frivolous Accusations on purpose to drain their Pockets. The first he attacked in this manner was Sir *William Capel* Alderman of *London*, who was fined two Thousand seven Hundred Pounds, and forced to compound with the King for sixteen Hundred. The Archbishop of *Canterbury* was taxed with being the Contriver of these Methods to help the King to Money. But whether *Henry's* Avarice daily increased, or whether the *Ministers* which came after that Prelate had less Conscience than he, People had but too much reason to lament him after his Death.

Towards the End of this Year, *Henry* gave a fresh Instance of his Greediness after Money, which proved very injurious to his Good Name, especially as he endeavoured to cover it with the Cloak of Justice. By secret Advices from Sir *Robert Clifford* he was informed that the Lord *William Strange* High-Chamberlain, was one of *Perkin Warbeck's* Adherents. Though that Lord had done him the greatest Service that a Man can do his Prince, since he had procured him the Victory which lifted him into the Throne, he resolved to sacrifice him to his Avarice, under Colour of punishing his Crime. I say, to his Avarice, and not to Justice or Revenge. For if we may judge by his usual Way with regard to the State-Criminals of whom nothing was to be got, there is no question but he would have pardoned the Lord *Strange*, if the greedy Desire of having his Estate had not rendered him inexorable.

To compass his Ends, he order'd *Clifford* who was still in *Flanders*, to repair privately to *England*. As soon as he heard that the *Informer* was arrived, he went and lodged in the *Tower*, that the *Great Ones* which should be accused might be arrested the more conveniently and without Noise. *Clifford* being come
to

1494

to *London* without discovering himself, the King assembled the *Council* in the *Tower*, and sent for Sir *Robert*, who falling down at his Feet craved the King's Pardon, offering to declare all he knew of the Conspiracy. The King immediately pardoned him; but on exprefs Condition that he would conceal Nothing of what was come to his Knowledge. Whereupon *Clifford* impeached several Persons, and among the rest the Lord *Chamberlain*. The King seeming to be extremely surpriz'd, bid him take Care what he said, since his Life lay at Stake in case the Impeachment proved false. *Clifford* persisting in it, the Lord *Chamberlain* was apprehended upon the Spot. Next day he was examined by the *Council*, where he confessed enough to condemn him. The great Service he had done the King, and the Interest of the Earl of *Darby* his Brother, made him hope that he should not be treated with the utmost Rigour. But two Things rendered his Crime unpardonable. The first was his immense Riches, which gave the King the Prospect of a fat Confiscation*. The second, that he was accused and apparently convicted, of having said, speaking of *Perkin Warbeck*, that if *that young Man* were really King *Edward's Son*, he would never bear Arms against him. This was wounding the King in the most sensible Part, since he seemed to acknowledge that the *House of York* had a better Right than the *House of Lancaster*. Had he been guilty of no other Crime, there is room to Question whether the Judges would have sentenced him to Death: but in all Appearance, he was convicted of having acted more directly against the King, by holding Intelligence with *Perkin Warbeck* and the *Dutchess of Burgundy*. All the Favour he could obtain was a

* There was found in his Castle of *Holt*, 40,000 Marks in Money and Plate, besides Jewels, Household-stuff. Stock upon his Grounds and other personal Estate, exceeding Great. He had likewise in Land 3000*l.* a Year of old Rent. Bacon.

Delay of some Weeks, to prepare himself for Death, which he suffer'd not till the Beginning of the next Year. The King's Severity on this Occasion seem'd too great. All the World imagined he would pardon a Lord, to whom he was so much obliged, and who had even put it in his Power to exercise Acts of Mercy, by procuring him the Crown. Besides, he was Brother to the Earl of *Darby*, a zealous Servant, and Father-in-law of the King.

1494

The Execution of the Lord *Chamberlain* spread a Terror over the whole Kingdom. He was condemn'd for a Crime of which few *Englishmen* were innocent, that is to say, for having preferred the Title of the *House of York* to that of the King in Being. But what caused still more Dread, was that it plainly appear'd, the King had Spies about the Lord *Chamberlain* to watch his Motions, and that every Body might be in the same Case. The great Men durst no longer speak their Minds to one another, for fear those whom they counted their best Friends, were Spies of the King's. But they made themselves amends in some Measure for this Restraint by Swarms of *Libels* against the Judges, the Council and the King himself. This Liberty put the King in so ill an Humour, that he ordered five Persons convicted of dispersing these *Libels* to be executed.

Great
Terror in
England.Libels a-
gainst the
King.

Richard Fox, Bishop of *Bath* and *Wells*, one of the King's Favourites, was translated this Year to the See of *Durham*.

Act. Pub.
XII. 565.

It was likewise this Year that *Henry* the King's second Son, two Years Old, was created *Duke of York*.

Bacon.

Though there was a Truce concluded with Scotland to the 30th of *April* 1501, there still remain'd some Disputes between the *English* and *Scots* about certain Lands situate on the Borders of the two Kingdoms, and about the Fishery of the River *Eske*. *Henry*, ever in fear of some Insurrection in the Kingdom, was extremely desirous to have no Contests with

Negotiations
with
Scotland.
Act. Pub.
XII. 554.

1494

with his Neighbours. For this Reason he had in *May* this Year, mov'd that those Differences between *England* and *Scotland* might be made up. King *James* seeming to desire the same Thing, they both sent Ambassadors to *Caldstream*, to see to agree upon some Expedient. *Richard Fox* was at the Head of the *English* Ambassy. But with all his Address he could not get an Affair to be decided which in itself seem'd to have no great Difficulty. This made the King suspect that the King of *Scotland* reserved it for an Occasion of Quarrel, and caused him to order the Earl of *Surrey* to be upon his Guard in the North.

Charles
VIII. un-
dertakes
the Con-
quest of
Naples.

Charles VIII took in hand this Year the Conquest of the Kingdom of *Naples*, which he had been long meditating. This Affair is so well known that it would be needless to relate the Particulars. It is necessary however to mention in a few Words the Rise and principal Events of it.

Abstract
of the Suc-
cession of
the King
of Naples.
Colien.
Capac.
Summ.
62.

The Posterity of *Charles* of *Anjou*, first King of *Sicily* of the *House* of *France*, was divided into two Branches, whereof one reigned in *Naples*, the other in *Hungary*. After sundry Revolutions, the Crown of *Naples* fell at length to *Joan* the first of that Name. But in 1380 *Charles* of *Durazzo* of the Branch of *Hungary*, laying claim to the same Crown, and repairing into *Italy*, attacked Queen *Joan*, who finding herself hard pressed, adopted *Lewis* I. Duke of *Anjou*, Uncle of *Charles* VI. King of *France*. From that time there was a continual War between the two Houses of *Anjou*. At last *Charles* of *Durazzo* remain'd in possession of *Naples*, and was succeeded by *Ladislaus* his Son, who dying in 1414, left the Crown of *Naples* to *Joan* II. his Sister. Mean time *Lewis* I. Duke of *Anjou* and *Lewis* II. his Son always stiled themselves Kings of *Sicily*, and kept up their Pretensions to *Sicily* on this side the *Pharo*, or the Kingdom of *Naples*. *Lewis* II, who died in 1417, left

left three Sons, namely, *Lewis III*, *Renè*, and *Charles*. 1494.

In 1421. *Lewis III*. led an Army into *Naples* to de-throne *Joan II*, who, in order to be supported, adopted *Alphonfus* King of *Arragon*. *Alphonfus* coming into the Kingdom of *Naples*, forc'd *Lewis III*. to quit the Country, and retire to *France*. Shortly after, upon some Quarrel between *Joan* and *Alphonfus*, *Joan* revoked the Adoption of *Alphonfus*, adopted the same *Lewis* of *Anjou*, who would have depriv'd her of the Crown, and declared him her Heir-apparent and successor; but *Lewis* died without Issue in 1431. *Joan* departed this Life the next Year, having made Will in favour of *Renè* of *Anjou*, Brother of *Lewis II*.

Renè made some Attempts to take Possession of the Kingdom of *Naples*; but it was to no Purpose. *Alphonfus* King of *Arragon* kept the Crown till he died in 1458. He left the Kingdom of *Arragon* to *John* his lawful Son, and that of *Naples* to *Ferdinand* his Bastard.

In 1474 *Renè* made a Will, and appointed for his Heir *Charles* Earl of *Main* his Nephew, Son of *Charles* his younger Brother, setting aside *Violante* his Daughter, who was Dutcheß of *Lorrain*, and *Renè* Duke of *Lorrain* his Grandson.

Charles Earl of *Main*, Nephew and Heir of King *Renè*, died in 1481. leaving *Lewis XI*. King of *France* his sole Heir. By virtue of which Will it was that *Charles VIII*. Son of *Lewis XI*. pretended that the Kingdom of *Naples* was fallen to him. Foundati-
on of
Charles
VIII's
Claim.

If a Man considers never so little what has been said, he will doubtless perceive that *Charles's* Title to the Kingdom of *Naples* was very disputable. To decide this Case in a judicial Way, it would have been necessary to examine two Points of equal Importance in this Matter. First, whether *Joan II*. had Power to revoke the Adoption of *Alphonfus* King of *Arragon*, and to adopt *Lewis* of *Anjou* in his Room. It is true indeed, the *French* Historians pretend that *Alphonfus*

1494. would have dethroned his Benefactress, and, if that were the Case, the Reason of revoking the Adoption seems to be just. But the *Arragonese* deny the Fact. They ascribe it to *Joan's* Levity, who was of a fickle and inconstant Temper. In the next Place, supposing that the *House of Anjou's* Title was better than the *House of Arragon's*, this second Point must have been examined, whether King *Renè* could set aside *Violante* his Daughter and her Heirs, and give the Kingdom of *Naples* to *Charles* Earl of *Main* his Nephew. It could not be alledged in Favour of this *Will*, that the Kingdom of *Naples* was a *Fief-Male*, since the *House of Anjou's* Title was derived from a Woman. So *Charles VIII.* could not pretend to that Kingdom but on Supposition that the Laws decided these two Points in his Favour, the which was very doubtful, not to say worse. Besides, the *House of Arragon* had another Title founded upon a Sixty Years Possession. But what made this Business very perplexed was, that the Popes, as sovereign Lords of *Naples*, seemed to have determined it in Favour of the *House of Anjou*, by investing the Princes of that *House* with that Kingdom.

Causes of
the War of
Naples.
Mezerai.

But it was not so much the Claim which *Charles VIII.* had to the Kingdom of *Naples*, that induced him to this Conquest, as the present Juncture of Time and Situation of the Affairs of *Italy*. *Ferdinand* King of *Naples* had two Sons, namely, *Alphonfus* who bore the Title of *Duke of Calabria*, and *Frederick*. *Alphonfus* had a Son called *Ferdinand*, after his Grandfather. These *Arragonese* Princes were not beloved in *Naples*, nor in the rest of *Italy*. Besides, the old King *Ferdinand* had banished the Prince of *Salerno*, and all the rest of the Heads of the *Angevin* Faction. And these Exiles it was that stirred up *Charles* to the Conquest of *Naples*. But however, that alone would not have been enough to determine him to this Undertaking, if he had not been spurred on likewise by *Ludovico Sforza*, Uncle of the Duke of *Milan*. The Occasion was this:

The Dutchy of *Milan* was gone from the Family of the *Visconti's* to that of the *Sforza's*, *Philippus Marius Visconti*, last Duke of that *House*, having adopted *Francis Sforza*, who had married *Blanch* his only Daughter.

Francis Sforza, having been Duke of *Milan* after the Death of his Father-in-law, died in 1466, leaving two Sons, *Galeazzo* who succeeded him, and *Ludovico* surnamed *the Black*. *Galeazzo* having been assassinated, *John Galeazzo* his Son succeeded him under the Guardianship of his Mother, a Woman infamous for her Lewdness, and of *Ludovico* his Uncle. Some time after the young Duke married *Isabella*, Daughter of *Alphonfus* Duke of *Calabria*, eldest Son of *Ferdinand* King of *Naples*. *John Galeazzo* being a Prince of a poor Genius, *Ludovico* his Uncle engrossed the whole Power, leaving to his Nephew only the bare Title of Duke, without his being much concerned at it. But *Isabella* his Dutcheß, not being able to bear to see the Duke her Spouse without any Authority, complained to the Duke of *Calabria* her Father of this ill Usage. Shortly after, the Duke persuaded *Ferdinand* his Father to proclaim War against *Ludovico*, to compel him to deliver up the Reins of the Government to his Nephew.

In order to avoid this War it was that *Ludovico* stirred up *Charles VIII.* to undertake the Conquest of *Naples*, by putting him in hopes that he would assist him with all his Forces. He had also a further Design to make use of *Charles's* Aid, to become Master of the Dutchy of *Milan*, and to dispossess *John Galeazzo* his Nephew. He had already taken some private Measures to that End with the Emperour *Maximilian*, to whom he had given *Blanch* his Niece in Marriage, with a Dowry of Four Hundred Thousand Crowns, and *Maximilian* had privately invested him with the Dutchy of *Milan* for him and his Heirs.

Upon the Rumour that was spread of *Charles VIII's* Preparations for the Conquest of *Naples*, the old King *Ferdinand* offered him a yearly Tribute of Fifty Thou-

1494. sand Crowns: but the Offer was rejected. *Ferdinand* died a little before *Charles's* Expedition, and was succeeded by *Alphonfus* his eldest Son.

The War of *Naples* seems at first Sight to be entirely foreign to the History of *England*. However, as it was the Source of many great Occurrences which happened in *Europe* during the next Century, I thought it was not improper to show the Rise of it, and for the same Reason it is necessary to relate the principal Events.

Charles's
Departure
and Journey
to
Rome.

Charles VIII. set out from *Paris* in the Month of *July* 1494, and came to *Asti* in *Piedmont*, where he fell ill of the Small-Pox. His Sickness having detained him at *Asti*, he departed not from thence till the sixth of *October*, to go to *Turin*, where he was forced to borrow the Dutcheſs of *Savoy's* Jewels, so ill provided was he of Money for an Enterprize of that Moment. *Ludovico Sforza* made haſte to meet him, and accompanied him as far as *Pavia*, where they found Duke *John Galeazzo* out of order, upon his having eat ſomething that *Ludovico* his Uncle had cauſed to be given him. When they came to *Plaiſence* they heard of *John Galeazzo's* Death. Then *Ludovico* left the King in order to go and take Poſſeſſion of the Dutchy of *Milan*, though the late Duke his Nephew had left a Son. *Ludovico* having obtained what he wanted, was no longer ſo great a Friend to the King of *France* as he had been before. On the contrary, he thought of nothing but how to drive him out of *Italy*, by means of a League of which he was the chief Promoter.

1495.

Mean while *Charles* purſuing his March entered the State of *Florence*, and compelled *Peter de Medicis* the Duke to deliver him four of his ſtrongeſt Towns, and to lend him a Sum of Money. He made his Entry into the City of *Florence* the 17th of *November*, and published a *Maniſeſto* about the War of *Naples*. Then he went on to *Rome*, and all the Places in the Pope's Dominions ſtrove who ſhould be moſt forward to bring him their Keys. *Alexander VI.* upon the King's Approach,

roach, desired Prince *Ferdinand*, Son of the King of *Naples*, to depart from *Rome*, where he had received him some Time before. On the other Hand, *Frederick* Brother of *Alphonfus* who was upon the Coast of *Genoa* with a Fleet, came to *Naples* where all were under the greatest Consternation. Thus *Charles* having passed through *Italy* without meeting the least Opposition, entered *Rome* the 28th of *December*, whilst the Pope in a Fright shut himself up in the Castle of *Angelo* for the Security of his Person. It is Time now to return to the Affairs of *England*.

Henry perceiving that the Negotiation with *Scotland* went on heavily, without his being able to discover any visible Reason of it, was apprehensive that King *James* would take Occasion from their Disputes about the *Fishery* of the River *Eske*, to break the Truce. So not to be taken unawares, he sent the Earl of *Surry* Orders to levy Troops for the Defence of the *North*, against the Attempts of the *Scots* and *Irish*. These Attempts which he pretended to be afraid of, were only a Pretence to be in a Posture of Defence, in Case the King of *Scotland* should have a Mind to attack him.

Precaution of Henry against Scotland.

Shortly after he made the Duke of *York* his second Son President of the northern *Marches*, though he was but three Years old. He had made him last Year Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*, and by that means he kept to himself the Salaries of these two Posts, which must have been given to two several Lords. Never Prince better understood the Art of husbanding his Money and making every Thing turn to his Advantage.

The Duke of York is made Governor of the North.

The Dutchess of *York* Mother of *Edward IV*, and *Richard III*, died this Year in a very advanced Age *.

Death of the Dutchess of York.

In

* She had lived to see three Princes of her Body crowned, and four murdered. She was buried at *Fotheringham* by her Husband.

1495.
The Pope's
Bull about
the Rebels.
Act. Pub.
XII. 573.

Perkin's
Attempt
upon the
Court of
Kent mis-
carries.

In the Month of July, *Alexander VI* sent into *England* a *Bull* impowering all the Bishops of the Kingdom to absolve the Rebels, which by *Innocent VIII's Bull* the Archbishop of *Canterbury* alone had Power to do.

Hitherto *Perkin Warbeck* had not ventur'd to attempt any Thing in *England*, well knowing that the King was informed of all his Correspondents. But as the Dutcheß of *Burgundy* could not find in her Heart to give over the Hopes she had entertained of gaining some Advantage from the *Phantom* she herself had spirited up, she resolved at length to send him into *England*. She judg'd it necessary to sound the People's Affections for the *House of York*, without staying any longer for the Assistance of the *Great Men*, who were too narrowly watched. Besides, she plainly perceived that in Case the People seem'd ready to rise, there would be no want of great Men to countenance and head them. With this View, she gave Orders for drawing together some Forces and Ships, and caus'd *Perkin Warbeck* to imbarck in order to go and make a Descent in the County of *Kent*. Mean while *Henry* knowing nothing of these Preparations which were making in *Flanders*, resolv'd to go in Progress to *Yorkshire* to visit the Countess his Mother, the which seem'd to be a Juncture very favourable to *Perkin's* Design. But as the projected Descent miscarried, it was not doubted but the King being informed of the pretended Duke of *York's* Intent, had taken that Journey on Purpose to draw him into the Snare; so much were People possess'd with the Notion that he did nothing without a *politick* View.

Perkin, pursuant to the Dutcheß of *Burgundy's* Directions, arriv'd upon the Coast of *Kent*, near *Sandwich*, and landed some of his Men to sound the Temper of the Inhabitants. These Troops made great Boasts of the powerful Armament the Duke of *York* had made in *Flanders*, pretending that the Ships in sight were but a very small Part of the Fleet which would soon appear. But the People perceiving that

that the Men were almost all Foreigners, so far were they from joining them, that they advised with the *Gentlemen* of the *County* to know how they should behave. And it was resolved, that they should make as if they were willing to assist *Perkin*, that they might allure him to land and take him Prisoner. Pursuant to this Resolution, the People took up Arms and appeared on the Coast, making divers Signals to invite *Perkin* and his Men on Shore. But *Perkin* and his Counsellor *Frion* suspecting the Contrivance, kept on Board, expecting the return of some of their People to inform them how Matters went on land. At last, the *Kentishmen* finding they could draw in no more, fell upon those that were already landed, and cut them in Pieces, except about a hundred and fifty, who being taken alive, were all hanged by the King's Order. *Perkin* being Eye-witness of his People's Misfortunes, weighed Anchor and returned to *Flanders*. *Henry*, who was then upon his Progress, hearing of the Descent was about to turn back towards *Kent*: But as he presently after received News of what had passed, he continued his Progress, and went and spent some Time with the Countess his Mother at the Earl of *Derby's* House *. He had a Mind by that to make a sort of Excuse to that Lord for having put his Brother to Death, and to give him withal a Proof of the Continuance of his Favour.

The 13th of *October* the King called a Parliament, wherein it was enacted, that no Person should be impeached or attainted for assisting the King for the Time being. It is easy to see that the Design of this *Act* was to hinder the Subject from too closely examining the King's Title to the Crown, since let what would happen, those that should serve him would be always safe *. The Truth is, the Precedent he himself

Remark-
able Sta-
ture
Bacon.

* At *Latham*.

* My Lord *Bacon* observes, that though this Law seemed to aim more at the People's Safety than the King's, yet did it take off from

1495. self had given, by causing those to be condemned that had bore Arms for *Richard III*, must needs have made his Friends apprehensive of being in the same Case, if the like Revolution should happen. But the *Clause* which was added in the Body of the *Statute*, that if any *Act of Attainder* should pass against such as had assisted the King for the *Time being*, it should be of no Force, this *Clause* I say, was void and of no Effect. For how could an *Act* of this Parliament limit the Power of a *future* Parliament, and cause that which in its Nature is revocable, not to be so? Nevertheless this *Statute*, which seemed to be made purely for the People's Safety, but was however only for the King's Security, discovered a little the Uneasiness and Uncertainty *Henry* was under on the Score of his Title.

Another to
pay the Be-
nevolence

There was also an *Act* passed to oblige those who had not paid their Quota of the Tax called *Benevolence*, to pay the Arrears by such a Time. This *Act* brought in large Sums to the King, the Arrears of this Tax being very considerable, because the War with *France* not having lasted any Time, many Persons had declined to pay either in Full or in Part. It appears in the *Collection of the Publick Acts*, that the Archbishop of *Canterbury* was indebted fifteen hundred Pound *Sterling*.

Warbeck
comes to
Ireland.

During the Session of the Parliament the King received Advice that *Perkin Warbeck* was landed in *Ireland*. As it could not be but with some ill Design, he gave order that the Coast should be strictly guarded, to be in a readiness to oppose a Descent in what Part soever it might be made. It was but too true that the Dutchess of *Burgundy* had sent *Perkin* to *Ireland* to try to bring the Inhabitants to revolt. To that End she had privately treated with the King of *Scotland*, who in all appearance had promised to aid him.

from his *Party* that great *Tye* and *Spurr* of Necessity, to Fight and go *Victors* out of the Field, considering their Lives and Fortunes were in Safety, whether they stood or run away.

1495.

him. The common Opinion is, that the Emperour, the Archduke *Philip*, and the King of *France*, were likewise in the Plot: The two first out of Revenge for *Henry's* prohibiting all Commerce with the *Low-Countries*, and the other, to hinder him from entering into the League that was forming in *Italy*, to which he was strongly solicited. Be that as it will, it is very probable that *James*, in promising to espouse the Interests of the pretended Duke of *York*, had been induced thereto by some private View, or by the Instances of some other Prince.

Mean while, since *Poyning's* coming into *Ireland*, Things were upon a very different Foot from what they were before. Wherefore *Perkin* not finding Matters favourable to his Designs, departed thence for *Scotland*, where in all appearance he knew he should be welcome. As soon as he came to *Edinburgh*, he demanded an Audience of the King, by the Name of the Duke of *York*. *James* feigning an extreme Surprise, gave him a solemn Reception in the Presence of the whole Court. *Perkin* made a long Speech, recounting his pretended Adventures, and how he escaped the Cruelty of *Richard III.* Then he inveighed against *Henry Tudor* who had usurped the Crown of *England*, and unjustly with-held it from the lawful Heirs of *Edward IV.* He enlarged upon the Methods he had used to try to recover his Kingdom. He concluded with saying, that sundry cross Accidents having prevented him from succeeding, he was come to throw himself upon his Protection, in hopes that with the help of so generous a Prince he should expel the Usurper, and ascend the Throne of his Ancestors. That then he should always regard him as a Brother, and never miss any Opportunity of showing his Gratitude.

Warbeck goes to Scotland, and King James marries him to one of his Relations.

James seemed to be moved at *Perkin's* Misfortunes, and told him, whoever he was he should not repent of putting himself into his Hands. However he pretended to have some Doubts still, that he might let the World see he was not satisfied of the Truth but

1495. upon mature Examination. Shortly after he publickly owned him for *Duke of York*, and gave him in Marriage *Catharine Gordon* Daughter of the Earl of *Huntley*, and one of the handsomest and most accomplished Ladies in *Scotland*.

Buchan.

Henry projects to marry his Daughter to the King of Scotland
Act. Pub. XII. 572.
Henry earnestly wished to live in a good Understanding with the King of *Scotland*, whether he had received some private Advice of what was contriving against him, or whether it was the pure Effect of his Foresight. In order to that it was that he had empowered his Ambassadors, who were to go to *Caldstream*, to treat about the Marriage of *Margaret* his eldest Daughter with that Prince. Which Marriage was indeed brought about some Years after. But in all likelihood, there was no mention of it at the Congress, the Ambassadors of *England* having doubtless perceived that such a Proposal would be unreasonable.

Continu-
ance of the
war of
Naples.
The 28th of *January* 1495 *Charles VIII* set out from *Rome*, having caused the strongest Towns of the Pope's Dominions to be put into his Hands, with Cardinal *Cæsar Borgia* in Hostage. Whilst he was upon the March, the Ambassador of *Ferdinand* King of *Spain* told him from his Master, that when he promised not to molest him in the Conquest of *Naples*, he did not understand that the Conquest was to extend to all *Italy*. That notwithstanding he beheld him in Possession of *Florence*, *Pisa*, and all the Pope's Dominions. That therefore he let him know that he did not look upon himself as bound to keep their Treaty, and accordingly the Ambassador tore it in Pieces before his Face. *Charles* who was going on with a prosperous Gale, made a Jest of these Threats, and pursued his March.

Mean while *Alphonfus* the new King of *Naples*, finding himself attacked by a powerful King who was already upon the Borders of his Dominions lost all Heart. As he knew he was not beloved by his Subjects, he resigned his Crown to *Ferdinand* his Son, and withdrew to a Monastery, where he died this very Year. The new King resolving to defend his Kingdom

dom, advanced towards the Frontiers to endeavour to stop the King of *France*. But he saw himself all on a sudden deserted by his own Troops. In this Extremity he would have gone back to *Naples*, but he found the Gates shut. In short, he was forced to seek for Shelter in the little Isle of *Ischia*, having first left Garrisons in the Castles of his Metropolis, where he could enter without going through the City.

In the mean Time *Charles* still continued his March. *Trivulce* a *Milanese*, who was in the Service of the King of *Naples*, having surrendered *Capua*, all the rest of the Towns sent him Deputies with Offers of Submission. At last he entered *Naples* the 22d of *February*, and a few Days after he became Master of the Castles.

Such a Torrent of Success blinded the young Monarch and his Council to that Degree, that they omitted to take any Measures to secure their Conquest. By Degrees the Towns that had submitted, returned to the Allegiance of their Sovereign, his Army which was not very numerous being unable to furnish every Place with Garrisons. Besides, the *French* made themselves so odious to the People of *Naples*, that they soon repented of letting them in.

But what imbroiled the Conqueror's Affairs the most, was a League concluded against him between the Pope, the Emperour, the King of *Spain*, the Archduke, the King of *Naples*, *Ludovico Sforza* new Duke of *Milan*, and the Republick of *Venice*. This League which was for Twenty-five Years, was signed the 25th of *March* 1495, and at the same Time the Confederates began to draw together their Forces.

Charles found then it was Time to think of his Return. But he was resolved first to make a Triumphant Entry into *Naples*, from whence he departed the 20th of *May* in order for *France*, leaving but few Troops to defend his Conquest. But the Allies did not intend to let him return thus peaceably. They went and expected him upon his Rout, with an Army of forty Thousand strong, and posted themselves at

1495. *Fornova* in order to oppose his Passage. Though *Charles* had great Odds against him *, he was determined to give them Battle, being very sensible that he must either conquer or be ruined. The Battle was fought on the 6th of *July*, and the Issue proved favourable to the King of *France*, who defeated that formidable Army and came to *Asti* on the 15th of the same Month.

Battle of
Fornova.

Whilst he was retiring through *Italy*, *Naples* submitted again to *Ferdinand*, and almost all the rest of the Towns that were still in the *French* Interest followed her Example. The Duke of *Montpensier*, whom *Charles* had left at *Naples* with a few Troops, withdrew to the Castle of *le Ovo*, where after having held out a Siege of three Months, he was slain at last to capitulate. Thus *Charles* who had conquered the Kingdom of *Naples* in the Space of three Weeks, lost it again as soon. He formed afterwards several Projects to recover his Conquest, but the Obstacles he met with caused them to come to nothing.

Philip the
Archduke
assumes
the Go-
vernment
of the
Low-
Countries.

This Year the Emperour *Maximilian* returned to the *Low Countries*, and delivered up the Government to *Philip* his Son, though he wanted some Years of being of Age. After that he went back to *Germany*. *Philip* being no longer under the Guardianship of the Emperour, sent about the End of the Year Ambassadors to *Henry* to renew the Trade between *England* and the *Low Countries*.

1496.
Treaty be-
tween
England
and Flan-
ders.

Feb. 24.
Act. Pub.
XII. 576.
--578.

The Ambassadors found it no hard Matter to succeed in their Negotiation. The renewing of the Commerce which they came to demand was no less necessary for the *English* than for the *Flemings*. So on the 24th of *February* 1496 was concluded at *London* a Treaty of Peace and perpetual Friendship between *Henry* and *Philip*, and the Trade between the two Nations was settled to the Satisfaction of both Sides.

Among

* He had but 5000 Men.

Among the Articles of this Treaty, there were Two particularly remarkable. By the first, the two Princes were bound to give neither Aid nor Refuge to the rebellious Subjects of either. Particularly, *Philip* obliged himself expressly to hinder the Dutchess Dowager of *Burgundy* from sheltering the King's rebellious Subjects in the *Lands* she was possessed of, by what Title soever she held them, whether of *Dower* or otherwise. That in case she acted contrary to the Prohibition, he promised to out her of all she possessed in the *Low-Countries*.

By another Article it was expressly agreed, that any Vessel suffering Shipwrack on the Coasts of either of the two Princes, should not be liable to Confiscation, provided there was left alive a Man, a Dog, a Cat, or a Cock.

The *Flemings* called this Treaty [*Intercursus Magnus*. Bacon.] or the *Great Treaty of Commerce*, not only on the Score of the great Number of Articles, but chiefly with respect to another which was made afterwards, and which not being so much to their Advantage, was termed [*Intercursus Malus*] or the *Bad Treaty*.

We find in the *Collection of the Publick Acts*, that on *March* the 5th this Year the King granted a *Patent* John Cabot. to *John Cabot* * a *Venetian*, and to three of his Sons, Ad. Pub. to go upon the Discovery of new Lands with *English* XII. 595. Colours. The Terms were, that after all the Charges were deducted, they should give the King a Fifth of the Profit.

Mean while the King of *Scotland*, not content with having given Sanctuary in his Dominions to the pretended Duke of *York*, was bent likewise to undertake to set him on the Throne of *England*. It had been intimated to him, that as soon as he should appear in that Kingdom at the Head of an Army, all the Friends of the *House of York* would rise in favour of the *Pre-tender*. The King of Scotland and Warbeck's Invasion. Buchan. Bacon.

* My Lord *Bacon* calls him *Sebastian Gabato*, an Inhabitant of *Bristol*.

1496.
Proclamation in the
Name of
the Duke
of York.

The Eng-
lish do not
join him.

James ra-
vages
Northum-
berland.

Warbeck's
Cunning.

tender. With this view it was that immediately after his Arrival in *England* he took care to cause a *Proclamation* of the pretended Duke's to be dispersed, wherein the King was termed *Usurper*, *Tyrant* and *Murderer*. Moreover, he promised all sorts of Favours to such as would join the *lawful Heir*, in order to to pull down him that wrongfully detained the Crown. But this *Proclamation* proved fruitless, not a Soul offering to join the *Scots*. The Truth is, *Henry* was not beloved, especially in those Parts. But as since *Perkin* had begun to appear by the Name of *Duke of York*, abundance of People were undeceived, and others were in doubt on his Account. They did not think it proper to venture their Lives and Fortunes without some better Proof that he was really the Son of *Edward IV*. Besides, the Execution of the Lord *Chamberlain* made every body tremble, no one being able reasonably to expect the King's Pardon, since he had not spared that Lord. At length, *James* seeing that he expected in vain that the *English* would take up Arms in favour of his Duke of *York*, and being unwilling wholly to lose his Labour, ravaged *Northumberland* and got a great Booty. Then *Perkin* feigning to be extremely touched with the Calamities the *English* suffered, conjured that Prince, before his whole Court, to spare his wretched Subjects. This was a cunning Fetch enough to make the World believe that he was in Truth what he pretended to be; *James* replied with a Smile, that he thought him very generous to be so very careful of what was none of his, in order to save it for his Enemy. Mean while, the News that an *English* Army was advancing to give him Battle, made him resolve to return back, being unwilling to put the great Booty he had got to the Hazard of a Battle. Thus the Expedition, from which he had expected such mighty Matters, ended only in the Ruin of the People of *Northumberland*.

Whilst

Whilst these things passed in *England*, *Charles VIII.* 1499. fearing that *Henry* would enter into the League of *Italy*, *Charles VIII.* causes the Peace of *Estaples* to be confirmed by the States. A& Pub. XII. 552. &c. took care to have the Peace of *Estaples* confirmed by the States, as he was bound to do by the Treaty, the which he had neglected hitherto, though the Parliament of *England* had confirmed it last Year. However, as he thought not proper to convene the States General, he got the Peace approved by the States of each Province, with which in all appearance *Henry* was satisfied. We find in the *Collection of the publick Acts*, the Approbations of the States of *Languedoc*, *Normandy*, and several other Provinces, as likewise of particular Towns of little Note, signed by great Numbers of common People, as Tradesmen and Husbandmen.

Though the King of *Scotland's* Invasion had produced no great Effect, *Henry* was however apprehensive of the Consequences. He knew his Subjects were not pleased; that the *Yorkists* were very numerous; that *Ireland* was not well-affected; and that *Perkin Warbeck* was in *Scotland* ready to take advantage of these Things. And therefore, to obviate the Danger which might arise from all Sides, he granted in the first Place a General Pardon to all the *Irish* who had taken the pretended Duke of *York's* Part, lest the Dread of Punishment should carry them to revolt. In the second Place, he commissioned *Richard Fox* Bishop of *Durham* to try, as of himself, to enter into Negotiation with the King of *Scotland*, to treat about the Marriage of his eldest Daughter *Margaret* with that Prince. Lastly, he sent Ambassadors to *Ferdinand* and *Isabella*, to confirm the Alliance he had made with them, and to secure, by fresh Engagements, the Marriage of *Arthur* his eldest Son with *Catherine* their Third Daughter.

Some time before he had dispatched to *Rome* *Robert Sherburn*, who had in his Name entered into the League of *Italy* against *Charles VIII.* and on the 23d of *September* he ratified what his Ambassador had done. By that he appeared to be sufficiently enough supported.

The King's
Precautions.

A& Pub.
XII. 634.

Ibid. 636.

Embassy
to Spain.
Sept. 22.

He entered
into the
League of
Italy.
p. 638.

1496.

ported. The Truth is, he had nothing to fear from the King of *France*, who had his Hands full elsewhere, and the most potent Princes of *Europe* were his Friends and Allies. As for the King of *Scotland*, he could easily withstand him in case he was attacked by him. However, though he had already taken Measures to make Peace with that Prince, and had reason to hope he should succeed, yet he believed he ought not to let slip this Opportunity to demand an Aid of Money of the Parliament, as well to put himself in a Posture of Defence, as to be revenged of the Insults of the *Scots*. With this view he called a Parliament on the 16th of *January* following. It was however easy to foresee that the King of *Scotland* being backed neither by *France*, nor the Archduke, nor the Dutchess of *Burgundy*, would not undertake to maintain alone a War for the sake of *Perkin Warbeck*, supposing he was prepossessed enough to believe him the real Duke of *York*.

Marriage
of the
Archduke
with Jane
of Arra-
gon,
and of
Margaret
of Austria
with the
Prince of
Spain.

In *October* this Year, *Jane*, Second Daughter of *Ferdinand* and *Isabella*, came into the *Low-Countries* to marry the Archduke *Philip*, with whom she had been contracted. *Isabella* her eldest Sister had been married 1490. to *Alphonfus* King of *Portugal*, who died shortly after. The same Ships that had brought *Jane* into the *Low-Countries*, served to carry *Margaret* of *Austria*, Sister to *Philip*, into *Spain*, to consummate her Marriage with Prince *John*, Heir-apparent of *Castile* and *Arragon*.

1497.
The Par-
liament
meets.
Bacon.
Subsidy
given for
the Scotch
War.

The Parliament being assembled in the Beginning of the Year 1497, the King made a Speech to the *Two Houses*, wherein he highly aggravated the Affront he had received from the King of *Scotland*. He represented to them in very moving Terms, the Calamities his *Northern* Subjects had endured, at a Time when the Truce should have screened them from such Outrages. In short, he told them that his Honour and the Protection he owed his People, would not suffer him to let such Affronts pass without a signal Revenge. The Parliament taking him right, gave

gave him a *Subsidy* *, whereupon they were immediately dissolved, as having been called purely for that Purpose. 1497.

Though *Henry* expected great Matters from his Negotiation with the King of *Scotland*, he plainly perceived he should not neglect to prepare for War. Otherwise Negotiations generally prove fruitless. The levying the *Subsidy* granted by the Parliament was the first and principal Preparation to begin with. The Necessity of a War with *Scotland* afforded the King a Handle to hasten that Business, from whence he hoped for the same Advantage as from that of *Bretagne*; that is to say, to put the whole *Subsidy* into his Coffers. To that End, it was necessary the Whole should be levied before the Peace was concluded with *Scotland*, else the People would grudge to pay their Money. As the King set his Heart upon this Business, he gave very strict Orders to the Commissioners, who were to gather the *Subsidy* in the several Counties. *The King hastens the levying the Subsidy.*

The Commissioners proceeding with great Rigour, met in the County of *Cornwal* with Oppositions they little expected. The *Cornishmen* being a Race of Men less tractable than those of other Counties, loudly complained, that for some petty Damage done to the other End of the Kingdom, they were robbed of their necessary Subsistence. These Murmurings were encouraged by one *Michael Joseph*, a Farrier of *Bodwin*, and *Thomas Flammock*, a Lawyer. *Flammock* affirmed, that the Crown had Funds assigned for such Wars, by means of the *Fiefs* annexed: That the Persons who were possessed of these *Fiefs*, held them on Condition to be always ready to defend the Borders, and to those the Government was to apply, and not make use of the *Scotch* Invasion as a Pretence to fleece the whole Kingdom: That it would be a shame to *Rebellion in Cornwal.*

* Limited to the Sum of 120.000 l. besides Two Fifteens. *Bacon* observes upon this Occasion, that his Wars were always to him a Mine of Treasure of a strange Ore, Iron at the Top, and Gold at the Bottom.

1497.

submit to such an Oppression, and that all the Mischief proceeded from the King's *Ministers*, who made their Court at the poor People's Cost: That to free themselves from these Grievances, they must take up Arms, and without injuring any Person, go and present a *Petition* to the King, to pray him to desist from the Tax, and to punish his evil Counsellors, as a Warning to others how they gave him such Advice for the future: That they could not do a greater Piece of Service to the whole Nation, than to deliver the People from such *Harpies*, who ruined them under colour of procuring the King's Good. *Flammock's* chief Aim was at [*Morton*] Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and *Reginald Bray*, because they were generally the King's Instruments in Affairs of this Nature.

*The Rebels
march to-
wards
London.*

Flammock and *Michael* perceiving the People began to take Fire, offered to lead them, till some Person of Quality should come and head them, which, as they said, would not be long first. And indeed, it plainly appeared afterwards, that they were egged on by Persons of greater Note. This was enough to stir up all the Rabble of the Country to an Insurrection; and having armed themselves in the best Manner they could, they marched under the Conduct of these two *Incendiaries* into *Devonshire*, and from thence into *Somersetshire*. The Number of the Rebels daily increased, by abundance of People flocking to them from the Places they passed through, who had nothing to lose, and were spurred on by the King's secret Enemies. At *Taunton* they killed a *Commissioner*, who had signalized himself for his Rigour, in levying this *Subsidy*. This was all the Harm they did in their March. Then they went on to *Wells*, where the Lord *Audley*, a Nobleman of an unquiet and discontented Spirit came and joined them, and was immediately accepted as their General. *Audley* setting himself at their Head led them directly to *Salisbury*, and from thence to *Winchester*, without letting them do the least Mischief in their March, and forcing them to be satisfied with a bare Subsistence. When they came

*The Lord
Audley
heads
them.*

to *Winchester*, instead of going on to *London*, as they intended at first, they constrained their General to lead them into *Kent*. *Flammock* having told them, that the Men of that County were very fond of Liberty, they fancied they should be immediately joined by them, in Defence of the Rights and Privileges of the Nation. But upon their Arrival there, they fell short of their Expectations. By the Diligence of some *Kentish* Lords, not a Soul offered to take up Arms in their Favour. This Backwardness disheartened many of the Rebels, who foreseeing that their Enterprize would not be crowned with Success, returned quietly to their Homes. But those that stayed, being encouraged by the King's Remissness, who had suffered them to proceed so far without attacking them, made their Boasts that they would give him Battle, or take *London* before his Face. In this Resolution they went and encamped between *Greenwich* and *Eltham*, within a few Miles of *London*.

1497.
They
march in-
to Kent,
where no
Body joins
them.

They
march to
London.

When the King received the first News of this Insurrection, he was under some Consternation. A War with *Scotland*, a Rebellion in the Kingdom, and a Pretender to the Crown, seemed to him to be three Things of the last Importance, especially as they came upon him at once. Besides, his inward Uneasiness about the Doubtfulness of his Title, helped to magnify Objects in his Eyes. He was apprehensive that the *Cornish* Rebellion was the Beginning of a general Conspiracy, whereof *Perkin* was waiting the Issue in *Scotland*. Luckily for him, this Rebellion happened at a Time when he had an Army in readiness, which was to march into the *North*, under the Command of the Lord d' *Aubeny*. But the News of the Insurrection made him keep his Forces about *London*, not thinking fit to let them march into the *North* at such a Juncture. He contented himself therefore with detaching the Earl of *Surrey*, and sending him towards the Borders of *Scotland* to oppose King *James*, in Case he thought of making a second Inroad into *England*. Mean while the Rebels ran through the

The King's
Measures
against the
Rebels.

1497.

Counties, and the King made no Motion to stop them. This Management surpriz'd all the World, considering it was his Custom to march with all Speed to the Place where Danger began to show its Head. But upon this Occasion he thought best to act otherwise for several Reasons. First, he was very well pleased that the Rebels went so far from their Homes, and harrassed themselves with long Marches. In the second place, he did not see there was any Necessity to be in haste to fight them, since they committed no Outrages. Besides, he could not find that their Numbers increased. But the chief Reason of his slowness was that he had a Mind to see if they had any Friends in other *Counties*, that he might divide his Army upon Occasion, or run to the Relief of the Weakest. In fine, Age and the continued Enjoyment of a Crown had doubtless rendered him less in Love with Danger. Any other way seemed to him less hazardous than a Battle, to remedy Misfortunes of this Nature.

*The King
resolves to
give them
Battle.*

*Disposition
of his
Troops.*

But when the Rebels were encamped upon *Black Heath*, from whence they might have a Prospect of the City of *London*, the King could no longer Delay attacking them. He would have given Ground to suspect that his Backwardness proceeded from Fear, the which might have produced very ill Effects among the People. However, as he had much the Odds of the Male-Contents both in Number of Troops and Skill in the Art of War, he resolved to order Things so as to leave little to *Hazard* or *Fortune*. To that End, he divided his Army in three Bodies, the first whereof commanded by the Earl of *Oxford*, went behind the Hill where the Rebels were encamped, to cut off their Retreat and to attack them in the *Rear* if necessary. The second led by the Lord *Dawbery*, was appointed to charge them in the Front. The King kept the Third about his own Person, and encamped in *St. George's Fields*, that in Case of ill Success he might be ready to renew the Fight, or throw himself into *London* and secure the City as he should think

think fit. Besides, he was not so far off, but that he could succour his People during the Battle. 1497.

Every Thing succeeded as the King expected. The Rebels suffered themselves to be deceived by a Report he had caused to be given out, that he intended to attack them on the *Monday* following, whereas he fell upon them on the *Saturday*, which of all the Days of the *Week* he fancied to be the most lucky. As they expected no such Thing, they were taken so unawares that hardly had they Time to draw up in Array. On the other Side, for want of Intelligence, they suffered themselves to be surrounded by the Earl of *Oxford*, who having posted himself behind them, hindered them from retreating. So of the six Thousand * they consisted of, two Thousand were slain on the Spot, and the rest were forced to surrender at Mercy, there being no Way to Escape. The King for this Time, caused to be executed only the Lord *Audley* *¹, *Flammock* and the *Farrier* *² who were taken alive. But he gave the Prisoners to those that had taken them, with leave to compound with them for their Ransoms as they should judge fit. It is not unlikely that the Moderation the Rebels used in their March from *Cornwall* to *London*, tempered the King's Severity; especially as they had not asserted the Title of the *House of York*, a Crime which he never forgave: Be that as it will, he was satisfied with these three Victims as an Atonement for this great Rebellion.

Battle of Black-Heath, where the Rebels are worsted.
Jun. 22.

The Lord Audley and two others executed.

The King's Moderation.

Shortly after the Battle, the Archduke's Ambassadors signed at *London* Articles of Agreement, whereby in explaining the late Treaty of Commerce, the Archduke desisted from the Right of a *Florin* which he

New Treaty of the Archduke.
July 7.
A. & Pub.
he XII. 654.

* Bacon says 16000.

* He was led from *Newgate* to *Tower-Hill* in a Paper-Coat torn and painted with his own Arms reversed, where he was beheaded.

* He is said to please himself with the Notion that he should be Famous in After-Ages. He with *Flammock* was drawn, hanged and quartered at *Tyburn*. The *Cornishmen* are said to shoot Arrows of a Yard long.

1497. he demanded before for every Piece of *Engliſh* Cloth that came into his Dominions.

p. 658. On the 18th of *June* *Henry* ratified the Marriage-Articles between *Arthur* his eldeſt Son, and *Catherine* of *Arragon*. This Marriage had been concluded in 1491, and confirmed *October* 1. 1496.

p. 667.
Aug. 28. About the ſame Time *Charles* VIII ſent an Embaſſy to *England* on purpoſe to confirm the *Peace of Eſtaples*, by the Reparation of certain Outrages committed on both Sides.

But whiſt *Henry* was taken up againſt the *Cornish* Rebels, the King of *Scotland* thinking it a fair Opportunity, made a ſecond Irruption into *England*, and came and appeared before the Caſtle of *Norham*. But the Earl of *Surrey* who was then in *Yorkſhire* haſtening to its Relief, *James* raiſed the Siege and returned back to *Scotland*. The Earl of *Surrey*, not ſatiſfied with driving him out of the Kingdom, purſued him into *Scotland* and took the little Town of *Aton*. This War was inconvenient to the King upon ſeveral Accounts. Firſt, he could not continue it, without uſing all the Money given by the Parliament, which he would very fain avoid. Beſides, *Perkin Warbeck* made him uneaſy, and he plainly perceived it would be much eaſier to get him out of *Scotland* by way of Treaty than by Force of Arms. He would not however make the firſt Advances towards a Peace: but wanted to have it come from another Hand, to avoid the Diſgrace of a Refuſal, in Caſe the King of *Scotland* was not in the ſame Mind.

Henry employs the Spanish Ambaſſador to make Peace with Scotland.

Whiſt he was muſing on theſe Things, he be- thought himſelf that *Don Pedro d' Ayala*, the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador would be a proper Inſtrument to bring about this Affair. *Ayala* willingly undertook to go to the King of *Scotland*, and propoſe to him as of his own Head, an Accommodation with the King of *England*. He uſed for Pretence, that King *Ferdinand* his Maſter could receive no greater Satisfaction than to ſee the two Kings his Friends and Allies, live in Peace and Good-Neighbourhood. This Expedient ſucceed-
ed

1497.

ed according to *Henry's* Expectation. The Ambassadors found the King of *Scotland* in so good a Temper, that he writ the King Word, that if he pleased to enter into Negotiation, he did not question the Success. Whereupon the two Kings sent their Ambassadors to *Aton* to treat of a Peace, *Ayala* performing the Office of Mediator. The greatest Difficulty that occurred in this Negotiation was on the Score of *Perkin Warbeck*, whom *Henry* demanded, and the King of *Scotland* would not give up. The Bishop of *Durham* perceiving he could not gain that Point, proposed an Interview between the two Kings at *Newcastle*. But upon mention of it to the King of *Scotland*, he said, that although he was very desirous of a Peace, he was not in a Humour to go and beg it of his Enemy. At length an Expedient was found out which was agreeable to both Parties. And that was, that the King of *Scotland* should honourably dismiss the pretended Duke of *York*, before the Negotiation of a Peace should be carried any farther, lest it should be believed that he was forced to it; that then the Treaty should go on as if *Perkin* had never been in *Scotland*.

Difficulty on account of Perkin.

Expedient to remove it.

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1497. *Scotland* bent to dismiss him, thanked him for the Protection he had given him hitherto, and for all his other Favours, entreating him to convey him to *Ireland* with his Wife ; which Request the King immediately granted.

A Truce
of 7 Years
between
Scotland
and Eng-
land.
A&C. Pub.
XII. 673.

The two
Kings
make
Ferdinand
and Isa-
bella Um-
pires.

As soon as *Perkin Warbeck* was gone from *Scotland*, there were no farther Obstacles to a Peace. The Ambassadors who were met at *Aton*, signed a Truce for seven Years, to begin the 29th of *September*, the Day of the signing the Treaty. It was expressly agreed that neither of the two Kings should make War upon the other, either by himself or by his Subjects, or by any other Person, whereby *Perkin Warbeck* was plainly enough understood without naming : That with respect to certain Points which the Ambassadors could not agree upon, the two Kings referred it to the Decision of *Ferdinand* and *Isabella*. Afterwards the Truce which was limited to seven Years, was prolonged till a Year after the Death of the Survivor of the two Princes. In fine, each of the two Kings gave *Letters Patents* to the Mediator, desiring him to report to *Ferdinand* and *Isabella* the Differences which were left undecided, promising to stand to their Determination. These Letters were full of Expressions of Esteem and Acknowledgments for the Ambassador, and the two Kings showed how well satisfied they were with his Equity, Wisdom, Impartiality, and the Trouble he had readily taken upon him. Nothing could be more honourable for *Ayala*, whom the *English* and *Scotch* Writers call *Hialas* or *Elias*, than the perfect Confidence these two Monarchs placed in him. But then it may be said, that he had the good Luck to find them equally inclined to a Peace so necessary for both.

First Pro-
posal of the
Marriage
of Marga-
ret with
the King of
Scotland.

I observed that in 1495 and 1496 *Henry* had empowered his Ambassadors to treat of a Marriage between *Margaret* his Daughter and the King of *Scotland*. But it does not appear that this Affair was brought upon the Board in any of the former Negotiations, or even in this I have been speaking of. It is however

however very probable, that *Henry*, who was very eager for this Marriage, did not fail to cause the same to be insinuated by the *Spanish* Ambassador, who was his Friend and Confident. It was a very proper Occasion, since *Ayala* might make the Overture as from himself, without naming *Henry* in case of Refusal. It went no farther for this Time. But we shall see presently the happy Issue of this Overture which gave Birth to the Union of the two Kingdoms.

1497.

In the Beginning of the Year *Margaret* of *Austria*, Sister of the Archduke, went into *Spain* to *Don John* her Husband. The Nuptials were celebrated with great Solemnity and Magnificence. But in a few Months after *Don John* died, leaving the Princess big with Child, who was brought to Bed of a still-born Infant.

Death of the Prince of Spain. Mayern.

By the Death of *Don John*, *Isabella* his Sister, Widow of Prince *Alphonfus* of *Portugal*, became Heir Apparent of the Kingdoms of *Castile* and *Arragon*. Since the Death of the Prince her Spouse, she had been contracted with *Don Manuel* new King of *Portugal*, who hearing of *Don John*'s Sickness, was so pressing that the Marriage was consummated before that Prince expired.

Marriage of Isabella his Sister with the King of Portugal.

Ever since the last Year *Charles* VIII had lost the Kingdom of *Naples* as was related. Though the Divisions which reigned among the Princes of *Italy*, seemed to invite him to a fresh Conquest, he could never bring himself to it, because he had turned all his Thoughts to Love and Pleasure. He duly paid *Henry* Twenty-five Thousand *Livres* every half Year, as he was bound by the Treaty of *Estaples*, for fear of drawing upon himself new Troubles from *England*.

Affairs of France.

After the Treaty of *Estaples*, there was neither War nor Quarrel between *France* and *England* during the rest of *Henry* VII's Reign. *Charles* and *Henry* stood in awe of one another. *Charles*, who at first had formed vast Projects, perceived that the King of *England* was the only Prince that could lay Obstacles in his Way. Afterwards, when he had given over the

1498. Disposition of Charles and Henry to one another.

1497.

Death of
Charles
VIII.
Lewis suc-
ceeds him.
Mezerai.
A&C. Pub.
XII. 683.

Italian War and indulged his Pleasures, he was ever in Fear that a War with *Henry* would interrupt his Ease. *Henry* on his Part dreaded all foreign Wars, especially with *France*, on account of the domestick Enemies he had in the Kingdom. Thus the two Monarchs having the same Interest, lived in Peace till *Charles's* Death, which fell out *April* the 6th 1498. The Duke of *Orleans* who succeeded him by the Name of *Lewis XII*, was no less careful to keep up a good Understanding with *England*. As he turned all his Thoughts to *Italy*, it was his chief Business to keep fair with *Henry*, who would have it in his Power to overthrow all his Projects if he should make a Diversion in *Picardy*. As soon as *Lewis* was on the Throne, he caused his Marriage with *Jane* Daughter of *Lewis XI* to be annulled, in order to espouse *Ann* of *Bretagne* Widow of his Predecessor. Otherwise he would have run the Risk of seeing *Bretagne* once more severed from *France*, and in the Hands of a foreign House.

Fresh Trou-
bles in
England.

Though *Henry* had nothing to fear from Abroad, since he was in Peace with all the Princes of *Europe*, the Case was not the same with regard to his own Subjects. Before he could attain to that perfect Tranquillity which he so earnestly longed for, he had a fresh Attack to withstand from the *Cornishmen*. *Perkin Warbeck* himself, who having been used to live like a Prince, could not find in his Heart to return to his primitive State, laid hold on this Opportunity to create him new Troubles.

Insurrections in
Cornwal.

The *Cornish* Rebels had met with milder Treatment than they had Reason to expect, considering the Nature of their Crime, which Sovereigns never pardon willingly. Most of them had compounded for two or three Shillings a Man, so miserably poor were they. These Men being returned Home, publicly gave out, that if the King had treated them with Lenity, it was not from a Motive of Clemency, but because he was sensible that in Case he punished all those that were of their Mind, he must hang up three Parts in four of his Subjects. This sort of Talk having
made

made their Friends and Neighbours believe that the whole Kingdom was ready to rise, they began to flock together, and show that the Battle of *Black-Heath* had not disheartened them. At last some of the hottest hearing that *Perkin Warbeck* was in *Ireland*, proposed to send for him and set him at their Head. The Proposal meeting with Applause, they sent Word to *Warbeck*, that if he would please to come among them, he should find no dispicable Assistance, and that with the Help of the rest of the honest *Englishmen*, they hoped to set him on the Throne.

1498.

The Rebels send for Perkin.

Perkin being without any Remedy in *Ireland*, and expecting nothing either from *Scotland* or *France*, or the *Low-Countries*, gladly accepted the Invitation. He had with him for Counsellors, *Hern* a broken Mercer, *Skelton* a Taylor, and *Astley* a Scrivener, who were great Promoters of the Matter. They told him, that he had committed a great Oversight in trusting to the Dutcheſs of *Burgundy*, and the Kings of *France* and *Scotland*, who minded only their own Interests without any regard to his : That he had been ill-advised when he made a Descent upon *Kent*, which was too near *London* ; but if he had been so lucky as to be in *Cornwal* when the *Cornishmen* took up Arms, he had been crowned at *Westminster* before now : That the *Scots* were not proper Instruments to place him on the Throne, by Reason of the Aversion the *English* had for them ; but his Business was to throw himself entirely upon the People of *England*, who alone were capable of helping him to the Crown : That therefore they advised him to repair into *Cornwal* where he was expected.

He comes and heads them.

Pursuant to this Advice, *Perkin* embarked for *Cornwal*, having with him about Seventy Men * on Board four small Vessels, and arrived in *September* at *Whit-sand-Bay*. As soon as he had landed his little Troop, he came to *Bodmin*, the *Farrier's* Town spoken of before, who was hanged after the Battle of *Black-*

* Bacon says 120 or 140 fighting Men.

1498.
He takes
the Title
of King,

and be-
sieged Exe-
ter.

Heath. There it was that having drawn together about three Thousand Men, he issued out a *Proclamation* wherein he assumed the Title of *King of England*, by the Name of *Richard IV.* He launched out into Reproaches and Invectives against *Henry* and his Government, promising Mountains to such as should take up Arms to pull down the Usurper. After publishing his *Proclamation*, he formed a Design to become Master of *Exeter*, as well to make it serve for a Magazine, as a Retreat in Case of Need. At first, he tried to bribe the Inhabitants with promising them the Preservation and Augmentation of their *Privileges*. But finding they would not hearken to him, he resolved to Storm the City. As he had no *Artillery*, he was forced to Scale the Walls, and at the same Time he attempted to set Fire to one of the Gates. But the Attempt miscarried, and he lost two Hundred Men in the Assault.

The King
orders his
Troops a-
gainst him.

Henry having received Advice that *Perkin* had headed the *Cornish-Rebels* and was before *Exeter*, said merrily, that *he hoped now to have the Honour to see him which he could never yet do.* He gave to understand withal, that he should receive with Pleasure and Thankfulness, the Services the Nobility should do him upon this Occasion. Whereupon several Lords and Gentlemen of *Devonshire* and the Neighbourhood drew some Forces together, and put themselves under Arms, before they had Orders from Court*. On the other Hand, the King caused the Lord *D'Aubeny* to relieve *Exeter*, and gave out that he was coming in Person at the Head of a numerous Army.

Perkin
flies to
Sanctuary

Perkin, upon News of the Preparations that were making against him, raised the Siege of *Exeter*, and retired to *Taunton*, where he ordered all Things as if he intended to fight. But that very Night he fled to *Bewley Monastery* in the *New Forest*, where he and several

* As the Earl of *Devonshire* and his Son, with the *Carews* and *Fulfords*, and likewise the Duke of *Buckingham*, with many brave Gentlemen. *Baron.*

1498.

veral of his Company registred themselves *Sanctuary-Men*. The Lord *D'Awbey* hearing that *Perkin* had forsaken his Army, detached three hundred *Horse* to pursue him, and prevent his escaping by Sea. The Pursuers coming too late at *Bewley*, contented themselves with besetting the *Sanctuary* till further Orders. Mean while *Perkin's* Troops, which were increased to Six Thousand strong, seeing themselves without a Leader, cast themselves upon the King's Mercy, who pardoned them all except a few Ring-leaders who were hanged for an Example. Presently after he sent a Detachment of *Horse* to *St. Michael's Mount*, to bring away *Perkin's* Wife who had retired thither, lest if she was with Child and should happen to escape, the Business which seemed to be at an End, might still be attended with fatal Consequences. This virtuous Lady, who loved her Husband entirely though unworthy of her, gained so upon the King's Good-will by her Modesty, that he gave her a very gracious Reception. He comforted her himself in a very affectionate Manner, had her conducted to the Queen, and gave her an honourable Allowance, which she enjoyed during the King's Life and many Years after. She was called *the White Rose*, as well on the Score of her *Beauty*, as because of the Name which the *Dutchess of Burgundy* had given her Husband.

His Army submits.

Henry seizes his Wife, and uses her well.

Though *Perkin* was in a Place from whence he could not escape, the King however went on to *Exeter*, in order to examine more closely into the Causes and Origin of the Rebellion. As he made his Entry into the City, he took off his Sword and gave it to the *Mayor*, with a command that it should always be carried before him, honouring by that Mark of his Distinction the Zeal which the Citizens had shown for his Service. On the Morrow he caused some of the Rebels to be hanged in Sacrifice to the Inhabitants of *Exeter*, and as a sort of Satisfaction for what they had suffered. As for the rest who had thrown themselves upon his Mercy, he gave them indeed their Lives; but withal appointed *Commissioners* to punish them by

He goes on to Exeter.

Some of the Rebels are executed, and others fined.

Act. Pub. Xli. 696.

Fines.

1498. *Fines.* He was exceeding rigorous upon this Occasion. One would have thought that he repented of giving them their Lives, and had a mind to starve the miserable Wretches by freeing them from the Gallows.

Debates about Perkin.

This done, he advised with his *Council* about what should be done with *Perkin*, who was all this while be-
set in his *Sanctuary*. Some were for having him taken out by force and put to death, not at all questioning but after the Thing was done, the King might easily make up Matters with the Pope. Others on the contrary believed, that according to the Leave granted by *Innocent VIII's Bull*, it was enough to have him narrowly watched, and that such an Advantage should not be given to the Pope without Necessity. Moreover, that the King ought to be very careful how he made himself looked upon as a Violator of *Sanctuaries*, of which his Enemies would not fail to take Advantage. In short, some there were that told the King plainly, he would never persuade the People that *Perkin Warbeck* was an Impostor, unless he himself would freely undeceive those that had been seduced by his Artifices: That therefore the best Method that could be taken was, to pardon him, and get him to make a Confession of his Crime. The King taking this Advice, sent some to offer *Perkin* his Life, if he would voluntarily surrender himself. *Perkin* readily complied with the Offer. He saw himself so strictly watched and guarded, that he had no hopes of making his Escape: Besides, supposing he could have got off, he had no Remedy left, after having tried so many ways and all to no Purpose.

He surrenders himself to the King.

He is carried to London, and confined in the Tower.

Shortly after, the King ordered *Perkin* to be brought to Court, as if he had been entirely at Liberty, but however he was attended by several Persons who were commanded to look narrowly to him, lest he made his Escape. Every body might see and talk with him: but he could never get leave to throw himself at the King's Feet, though the King, to satisfy his Curiosity, saw him without being seen. After that, *Perkin* was conducted to *London*. He saw himself

himself all the way exposed to the Insults and Derision of the People: but he seemed to bear all with great Firmness of Mind. Never did he act the Prince better than upon this Occasion, without affecting too great an Insensibility on one hand, or showing too much Dejection on the other. As soon as he was come to *London*, he was made to ride through the City twice, that People might have an Opportunity of viewing him well, which done he was shut up in *the Tower**. A few Days after was executed one of his chief Confidants, who not caring to take *Sanctuary* with him in *Bewley*, chose rather to wander up and down the Country in a *Hermit's Dress**†. This Execution being over, *Perkin Warbeck* was privately examined, and his *Confession* published, giving an exact Account of all his Actions, and the Places where he had lived ever since he was born. But all the World were surprized to find no Particulars of the Conspiracy or its Authors. The very *Dutchess of Burgundy* was not so much as named. Some took occasion from thence to confirm themselves in the Belief that the Person called *Perkin Warbeck* was the true Duke of *York*. They were persuaded that some Mystery lay hid under this affected Silence, and that the King durst not insert in *Perkin's* pretended *Confession* any of the Circumstances relating to foreign Princes, for fear of being publickly contradicted by Persons who would not have the same Regard for him as his own Subjects. As for what was published concerning *Perkin's* Life and Kindred, nothing, as they said, was easier than to invent such Stories. Some however were of Opinion, that the King by this Silence had a mind to keep fair with the King of *France*, the Emperour, Archduke, *Dutchess of Burgundy*, and King of *Scotland*: And that some *English* Lords were engaged in

* It does not appear that he was committed to *the Tower* till after he had attempted to escape.

† He was Farrier to the King's Stables, and accompanied *Perkin* in his Procession through the City, bound Hand and Foot upon a Horse. *Bacon*.

1498. in the Plot, against whom he did not think fit to proceed.

Shene-Palace burnt, and Richmond built.
Bacon.
Baker.

The Year 1498. ended with an ugly Accident, which gave the King no small Vexation. Whilst he was at his Palace of *Shene*, a Fire broke out on the 21st of *December* with that Violence, that in a few Hours the Building was entirely consumed with all the rich Furniture. As *Henry* was very fond of that Palace, he caused it to be rebuilt from the Ground not long after, calling it *Richmond*, which Name it retains to this Day *.

Death of Isabella Queen of Portugal.
Michael her Son Heir of Spain.

This same Year *Isabella* Queen of *Portugal* was solemnly acknowledged Heir-Apparent of *Castile* and *Arragon* by the States of these two Kingdoms. But shortly after she died in Childbed at *Saragossa*, after she had been delivered of a Prince who was named *Michael*, and proclaimed presumptive Heir of *Ferdinand* and *Isabella*.

Since *Lewis* XII ascended the Throne of *France*, he was taken up in contriving how to recover the Dutchy of *Milan*, to which he laid Claim in Right of *Valentine* of *Milan* his Grandmother.

1499.
Quarrel between the English and Scots.
Bacon.

The Truce between *England* and *Scotland* being concluded, as was said, to the Satisfaction of both Kingdoms, the *Scots* conversed familiarly with their Neighbours the *English*, particularly with the Inhabitants of *Norham*. This Town, which was fortified with a good Castle and a strong Garrison, is situated on the little River *Twede*, which parts the two Kingdoms. It happened one Day that as some *Scotchmen* were walking out of the Town, they stood looking attentively upon the Castle, which causing Suspicion in the Soldiers of the Garrison, they sent them word to withdraw. The *Scots* taking it ill to be suspected, returned an angry Answer, and in short, falling from Words to Blows, some of them were killed. The Matter being brought before the *Wardens* of the

Marches,

* He gave it that Name from his having been Earl of *Richmond*. Camb.

Marches, was neglected a pretty while, insomuch that after many Delays, the King of *Scotland* sent Ambassadors into *England* to demand speedy Satisfaction. *Henry*, who had no mind to quarrel with *James*, replied, that what had happened was a mere Chance and without his Privity: Nevertheless, he was ready to make all convenient Satisfaction, and to that End would send Ambassadors to the King of *Scotland*. *Buchanan* and my Lord *Bacon*, *Henry the Seventh's* Historian, affirm, that the first Overture of the Marriage between King *James* and the Princess *Margaret* was made during this Negotiation, and that *James* himself proposed it to *Richard Fox* Bishop of *Durham*. Whereas it appears by the Collection of the Publick Acts, that above four Years before *Henry* had projected this Match, the Thoughts of which, in all appearance, he caused the King of *Scotland* to be inspired with by some indirect Means, as I said before. As the Bishop of *Durham* could not be ignorant of the King's Mind, seeing he had been twice commissioned to treat of this Marriage, he failed not to put King *James* in hopes that the Business would be ended to his Satisfaction. Shortly after, the Ambassadors of the two Kings meeting at *Sterling* to decide the *Norham* Affair, renewed the former Truce, adding certain Articles to prevent the like Accidents. After that *Henry* appointed the Bishop of *Durham* to go and settle with the King of *Scotland* the Articles of the intended Marriage. This Matter was not however finished till *January* 1502.

Perkin Warbeck, accustomed to live like a Prince, was heartily tired of the *Tower*, where doubtless he was not treated as such. Though in all appearance the King had ordered him to be strictly guarded, he found Means to make his Escape and get into *Kent*, where he hoped to meet with some Ship to carry him out of the Kingdom. But hearing that Orders were every where sent to apprehend him, he thought it better to fly to the Monastery of *Bethlehem**, which

1499
The King
of Scot-
land de-
mands Sa-
tisfaction.

Treaty of
the Mar-
riage of
Margaret
with
James IV.
Act. Pub.
XII. 721.

P. 721

*Perkin es-
capes out of
the Tower.*

*and flies to
Sanctuary.*

* Built by *Henry V.* at *Shene*, and was called the *Priory of Shene*.

1499.

He is pardoned and sent to the Tower.

had the Privilege of *Sanctuary*. It was a troublesome Business for the *Prior* of the Monastery to protect such a one as he, and yet he could not find in his Heart either to let him go elsewhere, or to violate the Privilege of the *House*, by giving him up to the King. In this Streight he chose to wait upon the King, and acquainting him that *Perkin Warbeck* was in his Hands; he petitioned for his Pardon, promising to deliver him up upon that Condition. The King plainly saw that he should not be able to get *Perkin* out of the Monastery to put him to death, without making a great Noise. And therefore, on pretence of his great Respect for the *Prior*, who was a Person very much esteemed, he granted the Prisoner his Life. But he ordered him to be set in the *Stocks* a whole Day together in the Palace-Court at *Westminster*, and next Day at the *Cross* in *Cheapside**, from whence he was conveyed to the *Tower*. Such a Prisoner naturally should have been thrown into some Dungeon, and yet his Confinement was not the most rigorous, since he had the Liberty to converse with the rest of the Prisoners.

Perkin's and the Earl of Warwick's Plot discovered.

After he had remained some time in this State, he found Means to gain four Servants of the Lord *Digby*, Lieutenant of the *Tower*, with whom he plotted to kill their Master, seize the Keys of the *Tower*, and make off with the Earl of *Warwick*, who had suffered himself also to be prevailed upon to come into the Plot, out of hopes of recovering his Liberty, which he had been so long debarred of without any just Cause. But unluckily for them, the Matter was discovered before they were able to put it in Execution. Scarce any body doubted but that the King himself was the Contriver of the Plot, and that his Aim was to draw at the same time *Perkin Warbeck* and the Earl of *Warwick* into the Snare, in order to put

* In both which Places he read his *Confession*, of which the *Reader* may see a Copy in *Hollingshead*, p. 786.

put them both to death. And indeed there were several Reasons to induce People to be of that Opinion. In the first Place, it was very surprizing that *Perkin* should not have been more closely confined, after he had attempted to make his Escape. Then it was not at all likely that in the Circumstances he was in, unable to reward Sir *John Digby's* Servants, they should be willing to run so great a Hazard for his Sake. In the next Place, *Perkin* was too cunning to join with the Earl of *Warwick*, who would have been but a Hindrance to him, supposing they had been so lucky as to escape. In short, granting that they had killed the Governour without being discovered, and had got the Keys of *the Tower*, how could they expect that the Guards would have opened the Gate, or suffered it to be opened in the Night, without examining those that were coming out, or without the Governour's express Order. But what further confirms this Suspicion against the King, was, that about the same time a young Man, one *Wilford* a Shoemaker's Son, gave himself out to be the Earl of *Warwick*. He was attended or rather guided and directed by an *Augustin Friar* called *Patrick*, who had the Boldness to preach publicly in some Town in *Kent* that *Wilford* was the Earl of *Warwick*, and to exhort the People to take up Arms in his Favour. They were both apprehended, and *Wilford* was hanged, but the *Friar* had his Pardon *. This gave Occasion to believe that *Wilford* had been seduced by the *Friar*, and by the King's particular Direction, that the World might not think it strange that he was jealous of the Earl of *Warwick*, under colour that he was the Cause of fresh Troubles.

One pretending to be the Earl of Warwick is hanged.

However that was, it is certain the King was resolved to rid himself at once of all his Uneasinesses on the Score of *Perkin Warbeck* and the Earl of *Warwick*. Though one cannot say positively that he laid a Snare for them, at least this Plot furnished him with a Handle to deliver them up to Justice. *Perkin* was con-

* He was condemned to perpetual Imprisonment. *Bacon.*

1499.
Perkin is
condemned
to be hang-
ed.

demned by *Commissioners* [of *Oyer and Terminer*] to be hanged, and was executed accordingly, together with the Mayor of *Cork* and his Son, who had been his constant Companions in all his Adventures. Of eight others that were condemned with them, among whom were Sir *John Digby's* four Servants, there were but two executed. Such was the End of *Perkin Warbeck*, who had been acknowledged for lawful King in *Ireland, France, Flanders, England, Scotland*, and had made *Henry* shake in his Throne. Perhaps he would have carried his Point, had he had to deal with a less Politick Prince. But however, it is certain that the King was not careful enough to undeceive the Publick, and that the Proofs he produced to show that *Perkin* was an Impostor, being taken only from a private Examination, seemed not sufficiently evident.

The Earl
of War-
wick is
condemned
and be-
headed.

In a few Days after *Perkin's* Death, the Earl of *Warwick* was brought before the *House of Peers*, the Earl of *Oxford* exercising by Commission the Office of *High-Steward*. He was impeached not for attempting to escape, which could not be construed as *High-Treason*, since he was not imprisoned for any Crime of that Nature, nor indeed for any Crime at all, but for conspiring the King's Death together with *Perkin Warbeck*. The poor Prince confessing that he was consenting to the Project laid by *Perkin* and *Digby's* Servants, was condemned to lose his Head, and the Sentence was executed accordingly on *Tower-Hill**. He was the only *Male* left of the *House of York*, and his being so was in reality the Thing that cost him his Life, the King chusing rather to sacrifice his own Reputation, than to miss an Opportunity of securing the Crown both to himself and his Heirs. To take off in some Measure from the Horror People had of this Deed, the King was pleased to have it published, that

King

* He was four and twenty Years old, and had been a Prisoner 15 Years, and kept so from the Company of Men and Beasts, that he is said not to know a Duck from a Hen. He was buried at *St. Sepulchre's*. *Stow's An.*

King *Ferdinand* had positively declared that he would ever consent to marry his Daughter *Catharine* to Prince *Arthur*, as long as the Earl of *Warwick* was live. Strange sort of *Apology* tending to make it believed, that the Marriage of the Princess of *Spain* was so necessary for *England*, that it must be purchased with such a Crime! But if this Match was not requisite for the *State*, it was at least very beneficial to the King, who was to receive Two Hundred Thousand Crowns of Gold for *Catharine's* Dowry. This alone would have been enough to induce him to sacrifice the Earl of *Warwick*, supposing he should have got nothing more by his Death. From a like Motive it was that he had beheaded the Lord *Chamberlain*. But after all, it is very probable that what was published concerning King *Ferdinand* was only a mere Pretence to excuse *Henry*, since *Arthur's* Marriage with *Catharine* was solemnized by *Proxy* on the 19th of *May* this very Year before the Earl of *Warwick's* Death*.

A& Pub.
XII. 754

Lewis XII. had solemnly ratified and sworn to the Peace of *Estaples*, a little after his Accession to the Crown. But being desirous to let *Henry* see that he really intended to keep it, he caused it to be approved and ratified by the *States General*, who were assembled at *Nantz* in the Beginning of the Year. Then he sent Ambassadors to the Pope, praying him to confirm it by his Authority. The Pope seeing no longer any Obstacle from *France*, issued out a *Bull* of *Excommunication* against him of the two Kings that should not keep the Treaty.

The Peace
of Estaples
confirmed
by the
States of
France.
p. 706

p. 736

It was not for nothing that *Lewis* had a mind to keep the Peace his Predecessor had made with *England*. He had formed a Design to seize the Dutchy of *Milan*, and to that End had made a League with the *Venetians*, who were to have for their share all that Part of the *Milaneze* situate beyond the *Adda*. This same Year the

Lewis XII.
becomes
Master of
Milan.

* It is reported, that *Catharine*, upon *Henry VIII's* divorcing her, should say, That she had not offended: but that it was a Judgment of God, for that her former Marriage was made in Blood. Meaning the Earl of *Warwick's*. Bacon.

1499.

the Confederates attacked the Dutchy of *Milan*, and *Ludovico Sforza*, the most perfidious of Men, being forsaken by all the World, saw himself constrained to fly for Refuge to the Emperour, after having lost all his Places, except the Castle of *Milan*. *Genoa*, which he was in Possession of, followed the Example of the *Milanese*, voluntarily surrendring itself to the King of *France*.

The King of Naples is included in the Peace of Estaples. p. 720.

Frederick King of *Naples*, who had succeeded *Ferdinand* his Nephew, fearing that the Preparations which were making in *France* were designed against him, gave *Henry* speedy notice that he desired to be included in the Peace which he had lately renewed with *France*. But it was not with him that *Lewis* intended to deal this Year. He reserved the War of *Naples* after the Conquest of the *Milanese*.

1500. A Jubilee furnishes the Pope with means to raise Money.

Alexander VI. having published a *Jubilee* for the Year 1500, which was the last of the *Century*, had granted by his *Bull* to all *Christians* living at a Distance from *Rome*, the Privilege of the *Jubilee*, without being obliged to come and visit the Churches of that City. This was an infallible way to get Money from all the States of *Christendom*, where he had sent Commissioners to levy it. The Commissioner appointed for *England* was *Jasper Pons* a *Spaniard*, who wisely discharged his Commission without Noise and Scandal, and carried a round Sum of Money to his Master.

A Crusade intended with the same view. The Pope's Project.

Besides this Business, he was charged with another which seemed of great Moment, but tending, like the first, only to fill the Pope's Coffers. He had orders to acquaint the King, that the Pope had resolved to publish a *Crusado* against the *Turks*: That therefore he had agreed with the Ambassadors of sundry Potentates, that the *Hungarians*, *Polonians*, and *Bobemians* should make War upon the *Turks* in *Thrace*, the *French* and *Spaniards* upon *Greece*, and himself with the King of *England*, the *Venetians* and Princes of *Italy* who were most powerful at Sea should go and attack *Constantinople*; That in Pursuance of this Resolution,

solution, he had sent *Nuncio's* to all the Courts, to exhort the Sovereigns amicably to put an End to their private Quarrels, that all the Forces of *Christendom* might be united together in so pious an Undertaking. *Alexander VI.* was too well known every where, for People to believe that he acted upon this Occasion from a Motive of Religion and Zeal for the Glory of God. Consequently, it was easy to see that the sole Design of this *Crusado* was to heap up Money by voluntary Contributions, as well from private Persons as from Sovereigns. But however, as *Henry* was not willing to show any Dislike of this Project, which in all probability would meet with Obstacles enough elsewhere, he told the *Nuncio*, That no Prince in all *Christendom* should be more forward than himself, to put his helping Hand to this Affair, to the Glory of God and the Good of the *Church*: but as his Dominions were at a vast Distance from *Constantinople*, as he had no *Galleys*, and as his *Mariners* were not well enough acquainted with the *Mediterranean Sea*, he judged it more proper that the Kings of *France* and *Spain* should accompany his *Holiness* by Sea: By which means, not only all Things would be sooner got ready, but the Jealousy might be wisely avoided, which would infallibly arise between these two Monarchs, in case they should go together by Land, without having any body above them: That for his Part, he would freely contribute both Men and Money towards the Undertaking: But if the Kings of *France* and *Spain* should refuse to accompany the Pope, he would go himself and command under him, provided all Differences between the *Christian* Princes were first suppressed and ended, to the accomplishing of which he should be no hindrance, since he was in Peace with all the World. In fine, he demanded that some good Towns on the Coast of *Italy* might be put into his Hands to serve for a Retreat in case of Need.

King's
swear.

1500.
The Pro-
ject comes
to no-
thing.

Henry is
chosen Pro-
tector of
the Order
of St. John.
A & Pub.
Xlt. 747.

He goes to
Calais be-
cause of the
Plague.

Interview
between
Henry
and the
Archduke.

The Pope easily perceived the Meaning of this Answer, and as in all likelihood the rest of the Princes would return the like, the *Crusado* vanished into Air. Mean while *Henry*, to display his Zeal, appointed Ambassadors to go to *Rome* to treat with the Pope about that Affair. But I cannot tell whether these Ambassadors ever went from *London*. *Henry's* Answer being made Publick, the *Knights of Rhodes* elected him for *Protector* of their Order, imagining there was no Prince in *Christendom* more zealous than himself for *Religion*.

The Plague having for some Time raged in *England*, the King, after frequent shifting of Habitation, resolved to go and make some stay at *Calais* with his Family, till the Violence of the Plague should be over. Upon his Arrival there, the Archduke *Philip* sent Ambassadors to him to welcome him into those Parts, and to let him know that he should be glad to wait upon him. But withal he prayed him to appoint for their Interview, some Place that was not a walled Town, not but that he had a perfect Confidence in him, but because he had refused to confer with the King of *France* in a fortified Place. *Henry* very civilly accepted of his Compliment, and appointed the Place to be at *St. Peter's Church* without the Gates of *Calais*. Then he sent Ambassadors to *Philip* to return his Compliment, and to tell him with what Impatience he expected his Coming. Some Days after, being inform'd that the Archduke was near *Calais*, he rid out of the Town to go and receive him. When *Philip* saw him he alighted from his Horse and came and offered to hold his Stirrop. But *Henry* not permitting him, they embraced one another, and then withdrew into the Church, where they had a long Conference. The Archduke willing to wipe out the Impression which his protecting *Perkin Warbeck* might have made in the King's Mind, showed an ardent Desire to live in a good Understanding with him, calling him his *Patron* and *Father*. This appeared by a Letter of the King's to the Mayor

Mayor of *London*, acquainting him with what passed at the Interview. It is said likewise, that Overtures were made of Cross-Matches between *Henry* Duke of *York* the King's second Son, and *Margaret* Sister of *Philip* and Widow of the Prince of *Spain*, and between *Charles* Son of *Philip*, and *Mary* the King's second Daughter. *Charles* was born the 24th of *February* this Year, and by the Death of Prince *Michael* of *Portugal*, which fell out about the same Time, he was become Heir-Apparent of the Crowns of *Castile* and *Arragon*.

1500.

Projects of Marriages:
Bacon.

This same Year the Pope at the Request of *Lewis* XII himself gave a *Bull*, whereby that Prince was declared *Excommunicate*, if he failed in his Payments contained in the Treaty of *Estaples*.

Bull upon the Peace of Estaples
July 14.
p. 763.

The Ambassadors of *England* and *Scotland*, having at length agreed upon the Terms of the Marriage between King *James* and *Margaret*, the Pope granted a Dispensation to accomplish the Matter. But as the Princess was but between ten and eleven Years old, it was not consummated till three Years after.

Dispensation for the Scotch Marriages
July 28.
p. 765.

Henry was then in Peace with all the Princes of *Europe*, and there was no Appearance of any Troubles in his Kingdom. Consequently he had no sort of Pretense to demand of his Parliament new Subsidies. This way of raising Money, which he was so greedy after, failing him, other Means were to be devised. *Perkin Warbeck's* Affair was a plentiful Fountain which was not yet exhausted. The Commission he had set on Foot whilst he was at *Exeter*, regarded properly such only as had actually taken up Arms against him. But although that Commission had brought him in very large Sums, he was not yet satisfied. Under Colour that those who in any way soever had adher'd to *Warbeck's* Party, were still liable to the Rigour of the Law, he was pleased to grant them a Pardon which they sued not for. But it was upon Condition that they paid the Fines laid upon them. To that Purpose he appointed new Commissioners to make Inquest of those that had assisted *Michael* the Farrier.

The King inquires after Warbeck's Adherents.
p. 766.

1500

Author of the first *Cornish* Revolt, and *Perkin Warbeck* the Impostor, with Power to pardon them upon their paying such *Fines* as the *Commissioners* should think fit. He ordered likewise the Estates of such as were dead to be seized and sold, in Case the Heirs refused to make a reasonable *Composition*. It is easy to see from hence, that if the King had kept some Measures with the Rebels during the Troubles, it was only out of Fear of driving them to Despair, whilst they were yet heated, since he spared them not, as soon as he believed they could do him no further Harm.

Death of
Cardinal
Morton.

Cardinal *Morton* Archbishop of *Canterbury* was blamed as the Author of these Oppressions. But it was perceived in Time, that they sprung from the King himself. The Archbishop died the latter End of this, or the Beginning of the next Year, little regretted by the *English*, who were greatly prejudiced against him. *Henry Dean* Bishop of *Salisbury* succeeded him, though he was not put in Possession of the Archbishoprick till the *August* following. Before we close this Year, it is necessary for the Sequel to say a Word of what passed in *Italy*.

Dean suc-
ceeds him.
P. 772.

Lewis XII
and Ferdi-
nand share
the King-
dom of
Naples.
Mezerai.

After *Lewis XII* was become Master of the Dutchy of *Milan*, he turned his Thoughts to the Conquest of *Naples*. Though in all Appearance he would alone have been powerful enough to subdue that Kingdom, he made however an Alliance with the King of *Aragon*, whereby they agreed to join their Forces together, and to share the Conquest between them. *Ferdinand* was to have *Apulia* and *Calabria*, and *Lewis* the City of *Naples*, *Abruzzo* and *Terra di Lavoro*. This Treaty being signed, *Ferdinand* sent an Army into *Italy* under the Command of the famous *Gonzolo*, commonly called the *Great Captain*. *Lewis* gave the Conduct of his Army to *d' Aubigni*, to the Earl of *Gaïazzo* and *Cæsar Borgia* the Pope's Bastard, who having quitted the *Cardinalate*, was become Duke of *Valentinois*. The *French* Fleet was commanded by *Philip* of *Cleves* Lord of *Ravenstein*. In a very short

Space

Space each of the two Kings became Master of his Share set out by the Treaty, and the unfortunate *Frederick* King of *Naples* saw himself constrained to cast himself upon the Mercy of *Lewis* XII, who sent him to live in *France* with a Pension of thirty thousand Crowns.

1500.
The King of Naples gives himself up to Lewis

Henry having no War upon his Hands, liv'd in great Tranquillity, especially as he saw in *England* no Lord in Condition to create him any Uneasiness. The Ability he had shown in sundry Affairs, as well Foreign as Domestick, which had come upon him suddenly, kept his Neighbours in Awe, and his Subjects in Obedience. So that which way soever he

1501.

turned his Eyes, he saw nothing capable of disturbing his Quiet. And yet when he least expected it, he thought a new Storm was gathering against him; but he was more afraid than hurt. The Earl of *Suffolk* * Nephew of *Edward* IV and *Richard* III, and Brother of the Earl of *Lincoln*, slain at *Stoke-field*, having quarrelled with a Man, had the Misfortune to kill him. This Accident might have given the King a Handle to rid himself of the Earl who could not but be odious to him, since he was descended by his Mother of the *House of York*. But however whether the Action in its self was not ill, or for some other Reason, the King was pleased to forgive him, on Condition he should openly plead his *Pardon*. The Earl more offended at this *Ignominy*, than grateful for the Favour granted him, went away shortly after, and withdrew into *Flanders* to his Aunt the Dutches of *Burgundy*. *Henry* was startled at his going off, imagining that he was gone into the *Low-Countries* on purpose to hatch some Plot against him. The constant Uneasiness he was under with respect to his Crown, made him apprehensive that the least Beginnings would be attended with fatal Consequences. And therefore not to give the Earl of *Suffolk* the

The Earl of Suffolk wish-draws into Flanders.

* Son of *Elizabeth*, *Edward's* eldest Sister by *John de la Pole* Duke of *Suffolk* her second Husband.

The King finds means to make him return.

1501. leisure to concert new Projects with the Dutchess of Burgundy, he dispatched to *Flanders* Messengers who knew how to work upon him so, that they brought him back to *England*, where he was readily taken in to Favour. The Dutchess of *Burgundy* was grown old, and tired with having made so many fruitless Attempts to dethrone *Henry*. Besides, she could expect no further Assistance from the Archduke, who was willing to live in good Understanding with *Henry*.

Several Marriages. This Year abounded in Marriages, and Projects of Matches of Consequence. The Archduke going into *Spain* by Land, had an Opportunity to confer with *Lewis XII*, and to conclude with him a Marriage between *Charles* his Son with *Clauda* eldest Daughter of that Monarch.

Marriage of Arthur with Catharine consummated. A. D. Pub. XII. 780. On the other Hand, *Margaret* of *Austria* the Archduke's Sister and Widow of the Prince of *Spain*, married *Philibert* Duke of *Savoy*.

In fine, *Catharine* of *Arragon*, Daughter of *Ferdinand* and *Isabella* arrived in *England* in the Month of *October*, and her Marriage with *Arthur* Prince of *Wales* was solemnized on the 14th of *November*. Though the Prince was but sixteen Years old, no Body thought of questioning whether the Marriage was consummated. The Prince himself next Morning said several Things which left no room to doubt it. And yet there were afterwards very warm Disputes upon that Subject, *Catharine* or her Council affirming, the Wedding was never consummated. But it is not Time yet to speak of this Matter.

Dispensation granted to Thomas Wolsey. p. 783. *Thomas Wolsey*, who was afterwards Archbishop of *York*, and Cardinal, and made so great a Figure in *England*, was at the Time I am speaking of, Rector of the Parish-Church of *Lemington* in the Diocese of *Bath* and *Wells*. We find in the *Collection of the Publick Acts*, that in *November* this Year, the Pope, in Consideration of his distinguished Merit, granted him a Dispensation to hold two Benefices that were Inconsistent.

Though

Though the *Dispensation* for the King of Scotland's Marriage was come, Henry was in no great haste to finish that Business, by Reason of his Daughter's tender Age. At length, the Princess having entered upon her thirteenth Year since the 21st of November 1501, James sent Ambassadors to London, where every Thing relating to the Marriage was settled, and the Contract drawn up in Form the 24th of January 1502. Henry gave with his Daughter thirty thousand Crowns *, payable in three Years. James settled upon the Princess his Spouse, a *Jointure* of two Thousand Pounds *Sterling* a Year in Land, of which however he was to receive the Income during his Life, and to allow her only a Hundred a Year *1 at her own Disposal. It was farther agreed, that she might have Twenty-four *English* Servants, and when one of them should die, she might appoint another in his Room : That the Marriage should be performed *per verba de Præsentis*, about the Feast of *Purification* : but that the King of Scotland should not pretend to have *Margaret* put into his Hands till September the 1st, 1503. That then Henry should cause her to be conducted, at his Expence, to the Borders of the two Kingdoms. Before this Contract was signed a *Privy-Counsellor* represented to the King, that it was not impossible but this Marriage might one Day give *England* a *Scotch* Sovereign *2. Whereupon the King replied, that supposing what he said should happen, the *strongest* would carry it from the *weakest*, and *Scotland* would be annexed to *England*, and not *England* to *Scotland*, the which fell out accordingly.

The same Day were signed also two other Treaties, one of perpetual Peace and Amity between Scotland and England, and the other on Account of the Outrages which might be committed on both Sides contrary to the Peace.

Whilst 793, 800.

* Nobles, *English* Money, or 10 000 l.

*1 500 Marks, or 333 l. 6 s. 8 d. Bacon says. 1000 l. a Year.

*2 In Case *Arthur* and Henry died without Issue.

1502.
The last
Agree-
ments a-
bout Mar-
garet's
Marriage
with
James IV.
p. 787.

Two Trea-
ties be-
tween
England
and Scot-
land.

1502.
Death of
Prince
Arthur.

Henry his
Brother
made
Prince of
Wales.

Henry
makes the
Emperour
a Present
of Money.
Act. Pub.
XIII. 3.

Treaties
between
the Emper-
our and
Henry.
p. 6-22.

Whilst the Court was rejoycing on the Score of the Marriage of the Queen of *Scotland*, Prince *Arthur* her Brother was seized with a Distemper which laid him in his Grave. He died the 2d of *April*, about five Months after his Marriage, and in the seventeenth Year of his Age *. As the Princess his Widow might be with Child, the King stayed two or three Months before he created *Henry* his second Son Prince of *Wales*. My Lord *Bacon* says in his History, that *Henry* was not made Prince of *Wales* till *February* 1503 *. But we find in the *Collection of the Publick Acts, Letters Patents* of the 22d of *June* 1502, wherein he is stiled Prince of *Wales*, a clear Evidence that he was then invested with that *Principality*.

Shortly after, *Henry* received an Embassy from the Emperour *Maximilian*, to propose a League against the *Turks*. This Embassy was properly only a Pretense to demand of the King an Aid of Money which the Emperour promised to repay punctually. But the King knowing *Maximilian* to be always in Want, chose rather to make him a Present of ten Thousand Pound, than to lend him the Sum he requested. As for the League proposed by the Emperour, *Henry* did not think fit to ingage in it, contenting himself with stipulating that the Sum he gave should be employed in the War against the *Infidels*. He concluded with him however a Treaty of Commerce, and another of Friendship and Alliance, which was to last one Year after the Death of the longest Liver. Moreover it was agreed, that *Maximilian* and the Archduke his Son, should be admitted into the Order of the *Garter*, and *Henry* into that of the *Golden Fleece*. Pursuant to that Agreement, *Henry* sent Ambassadors to

* He died at *Ludlow-Castle*, where he was sent to keep his Residence as Prince of *Wales*, and was buried in the *Cathedral Church* at *Worcester*.

* *Bacon* says, it was half a Year's Time between *Henry's* Creation and *Arthur's* Death. And just after he says, the *February* following (that is, ten Months) *Henry* was created Prince of *Wales*, and Earl of *Chester* and *Flint*.

to *Maximilian* with the *Order of the Garter*, and to see him swear to the *Treaties*. 1502.

About the same Time *Ladislaus* King of *Hungary* finding himself hard pressed by the *Turks*, and having sent to demand Assistance of the *Christian Princes*, *Henry* dispatched Ambassadors to treat with him about that Matter. But their Power was limited to the promising in his Name a Sum of Money to be employed against the *Infidels*. *Embassy to Hungary. p. 10.*

During the rest of the Year nothing extraordinary passed in *England*. *James* and *Henry* were entirely taken up with confirming and ratifying the three *Treaties* they had lately concluded, and swearing to the Performance of them. We find in the *Collection of the Publick Acts*, that the Ambassadors of the King of *England* having put into King *James*'s Hands a Writing, containing the Oath he was to take, and he having read it as it was, gave unawares to *Henry* the Title of *King of France*. But afterwards perceiving his Errour, he took publicly another Oath, wherein the Words, *and of France*, were omitted, and made that his authentick Act. He was afraid no doubt that the King of *France* would take it ill that he should give *Henry* that Title, though in the main it signified but little. *Confirmation of the Treaty between England and Scotland. p. 43. ibid.*

We see likewise in the *Collection*, that on the 9th of *December*, *Henry* gave a *Patent* to *James Elliot* and *Thomas Asburst* Merchants of *Bristol*, to *John Gonzalez* and *Francis Fernandez* Natives of *Portugal*, to go with *English Colours* in quest of unknown Countries, upon certain Terms expressed in the *Patent* *. *Patent for Discovering new Lands. p. 37.*

Elizabeth Henry's Queen died the 11th of *February* 1503, without being much lamented by the King, who *The Queen's Death.* 1503.

* About this Time were brought to Court three Men taken in the new-found Islands by *Sebastian Gabato* mentioned in 1498. They were clothed in Beasts Skins, and spoke a Language unknown. Two of them were seen two Year's after at *Westminster*, dressed like *Englishmen*, neither could they be discerned from such. *Stow's Ann.*

1503.

who never loved her *. On the contrary, he grieved and mortified her in a very sensible Manner. His Aversion for the *House of York* reached his Wife, especially as he always considered her as a dangerous Rival. The Vexation he gave her by confining the Queen her Mother to a *Convent*, and confiscating all her Estate, plainly showed how little Regard he had for her.

The King
oppresses
his Sub-
jects by
Empson
and Dud-
ley.

Their Cha-
racter.

At this Time, the King's Affairs were in so prosperous a State, that he seemed to have nothing more to wish for. He was in Peace with all the Princes of *Europe*, and all Things quiet at Home, without the Appearance of any Thing being able to give him Disturbance. But his Subjects were not the happier for it. As his Avarice was insatiable, he was continually seeking new Ways and Means to heap up Riches which he wanted not, since it was not to use them, and since never Prince was a greater *Oeconomist* than himself. The Instruments he made use of for his Purpose were two infamous *Ministers*, *Empson* and *Dudley*, who regardless of their own and the Kings Reputation, minded only how to gratify his Humour, and devise new Methods to fill his Coffers. *Dudley* was of a good Family, well skilled in the Laws of the Land, and able to give a specious Turn to the most hateful Actions. *Empson* was sprung from the Dregs of the People *, impudent to the last Degree, and so little ashamed of the unjust Things he committed, that he used to glory in them. These are some of the Means they put in Practice to draw Money from the People into the King's Treasury, besides numberless others too long to be recounted.

Sundry
Means
used by
them to
procure
Money.
Bacon.

In the first Place, They caused such as were counted Rich to be indicted of sundry Crimes; and when the *Bills* were found by the *Grand-Jury*, they committed them, without bringing them to their Tryal, till of themselves

* She died in Childbed, having been delivered of a Daughter called *Elizabeth* in the Tower, who died soon after her Mother. The Queen was buried at *Westminster*. *Stow's Ann.*

* He was a *Sieve-Maker's* Son. *Bacon.*

1503.

themselves the Parties accused desired to *compound* with the King : If it was a good while before they took that Step, the *Ministers* found Means to terrify them by their Emissaries, who made them believe that their Lives were at Stake. By which Means the Parties were forced at length to come to a *Composition*, which tore from them the best Part of their Estates, and which the *Ministers* termed however *Mitigations*, as if the King had done them a Favour in abating the too great Rigour of the Law.

2. They carried Matters so far at length, that they proceeded without observing any Form of Justice at all. They sent forth their Orders to *attach* and *cite* People before themselves, at their own private Houses, in a *Court of Commission*, and there after a *summary Proceeding* by *Examination*, without *Evidences* or *Witnesses*, passed *Sentence* and condemned them in large *Fines* to the use of the King. Thus without vouchsafing to make use of *Juries*, and the Methods prescribed by the *Law*, they took upon themselves to deal as well in *Controversies Civil*, as in *Pleas of the Crown*. One would have thought that all *Criminal Causes* had belonged to that kind of *Jurisdiction*, which having been very rare in the former Reigns, was grown common in this.

3. They charged the *Subjects* Lands with *Tenures in Capite*, by finding *false Offices*, refusing upon divers Pretexts and Delays to admit People to *traverse* those *false Offices* according to *Law*. Hence they formed abundance of *Processes*, whereof they themselves were the Judges, and which were always decided in Favour of the *Crown*.

4. When the *King's Wards* had attained to their *full Age*, they could never have *Livery* of their Lands without paying excessive *Fines*, contrary to the express Tenour of *Magna Charta* *.

* They vexed Men also with *Informations of Intrusion* upon scarce colourable *Titles*. Bacon.

1503.

5. When Men were *Out-lawed* in *Personal Actions*, the *Ministers* would not permit them to purchase their *Charters of Pardon*, unless they paid great and intolerable Sums ; standing upon the Rigour of the Law which upon *Out-lawries* gives *Forfeiture of Goods*. Nay, contrary to all Law and Colour, they maintained that the King ought to have the half of Men's *Land* and *Rents* during the space of full two Years, in Case of *Out-lawry*.

6. They would also threaten the *Jurors*, and force them *to find* as they should direct ; and if they refused to act so unjustly, they cited, imprisoned and fined them *.

It is needless to repeat any more of their Courses. These I have mentioned are sufficient to show that Men of this Stamp made no Conscience of committing the most flagrant Acts of Injustice, provided it turned to the King's Benefit. For which they were less blameable than the King himself, who suffered them to abuse thus his Name and Authority.

Remarkable Instance
of the
King's Rigour.
Bacon.

We do not find in the Life of this Monarch, that he ever exercised one Act of Favour in the Matter of *Fines* or *Confiscations*. On the contrary, he was always inflexible upon that Score, even with regard to his most faithful Servants. His Historian relates a Particular well worth noting, as it serves to discover plainly the Character of this Prince. The Earl of *Oxford* of all the Lords of the Kingdom was the Person in whom he had the most Confidence, and who had indeed done him the greatest Services, as well in War as in Peace. One Day the King went to visit him at his Castle [at *Henningham*] and was entertained by him with all possible Splendour and Magnificence. When the King was ready to go away, he saw

* My Lord Bacon observes, that their principal working was upon *Penal Laws*, wherein they spared neither Great nor Small, nor considered whether the Law was *possible* or *impossible*, in *use* or *obsolete* : And had ever a Rabble of *Promoters* and leading *Jurors* at Command, so as they could have any Thing *found* as they pleased.

1503.

saw a great Number of Men dressed in rich Liveries, and ranged on both Sides to make him a Lane. The Earl it seems had forgot that several *Acts of Parliament* had forbid the giving of *Liveries* but to *Menial* Servants, as it has been observed before, but the King remembered it very well. Wherefore turning to the Earl, he said, *My Lord, I have heard much talk of your Magnificence and Hospitality : but I find they exceed all Report. These handsome Gentlemen and Yeomen I see on both Sides of me are sure your Menial Servants.* The Earl not perceiving the King's Drift, answered smiling, that he did not keep so many Domesticks, but that these People were only his *Retainers*, come to do him Service on such extraordinary Occasions. The King started a little and said, *By my Faith, my Lord, I thank you for your good Cheer ; but I must not suffer to have my Laws broken before my Face. My Attorney-General must talk with you.* The Historian adds, that this Trespass cost the Earl fifteen Thousand Marks *.

The same Historian says, that he had seen a Book of Accounts of *Empson's* that had the King's Hand almost to every Leaf, by way of *Signing*; and was in some Places *Postilled* in the Margin with the King's Hand likewise, where among many others was this *Memorandum* :

Item, Received of such a one, five Marks for the Pardon to be procured ; and if the Pardon do not pass, the Money to be repaid ; except the Party be some other way satisfied. And over-against this *Memorandum* of the King's own Hand, was written by him in the Margin, *Otherways Satisfied.* He was unwilling to pardon the Man, and yet could not find in his Heart to restore the five Marks. Hence it is plain he did not neglect small Profits.

* It is said in the *Original* 1500, but I suppose it an Error of the Printer, for my Lord Bacon says, 15000.

1503.
The Earl of
Suffolk's
Conspiracy.

It is easy to guess that the King's and the Ministry's Management bred great Discontents and Murmurings among the People. The great Men themselves meeting with no more Quarter than the meanest, groaned under the Oppressions of *Empson* and *Dudley*, two *Blood-Suckers*, who spared neither Friend nor Foe. The Earl of *Suffolk* whom the King had lately pardoned, fancied that these Discontents would raise in the End some violent Storm against the King, if the People could find a Person of Note to head them. As he was of the *House of York* by his Mother, he imagined the Time was come to assert his Rights, and that the People would not fail to declare for him. In this Belief he perswaded several Lords and Gentlemen to promise to stand by him at a proper Season, and then withdrew into *Flanders*, from whence he made his Friends expect a powerful Aid by Means of the Dutcheſs of *Burgundy*.

He with-
draws into
Flanders.

Henry dis-
covers his
Secrets.

The King, surprized at the Earl of *Suffolk's* going away, made no question but that he had contrived some Plot in *England* before his Departure, and that he was not without his Accomplices. In order to have full Information of Matters, he believed the best way would be to use the same Arts he had done with respect to *Perkin Warbeck*. To that End he dispatched Orders to Sir *Robert Curſon* Governour of the Castle at *Hammes* near *Calais*, one that he knew to be fit for his Purpose, and entirely at his Devotion. Pursuant to his Instructions, *Curſon* relinquishing his Government, under Colour of some Affront the King had designedly put upon him, came to the Earl of *Suffolk* with Offers of his Service. He played his Part

His Accom-
plices are
apprehend-
ed.

so well, that the Earl let him into all his Secrets. By which Means the King came to know that *William Courtney* Earl of *Devonshire*, married to *Catharine*, *Edward the Fourth's* Daughter, *William de la Pole*, Brother of the Earl of *Suffolk*, Sir *James Tyrrel*, Sir *John Windham*, and several other meaner Persons, were concerned in the Plot. They were all apprehend-
ed

ed in one and the same Day *. But as apparently there was not sufficient *Evidence* against the two first, the King was contented with keeping them in Prison. The which gave Occasion to think they were not guilty, but that the King used that Pretense to secure them, because their Relation to the *House of York* made him uneasy. As for *Tyrrel*, against whom the Blood of *Edward V* and the Duke of *York* cried for Vengeance, he was beheaded with *Windbam* his Accomplice. The rest of meaner Quality died the Death of Traitors.

Mean while, *Henry* wanting to know more of the Earl of *Suffolk's* Secrets, took Care to keep up *Curson's* Credit with him by an extraordinary Method. He caused *Innocent VIII's* Bull of *Excommunication* to be published at *Paul's-Cross*, against all Persons that should disturb him in the Possession of the Throne, and particularly against the Earl of *Suffolk* and Sir *Robert Curson*. But as soon as he had got from the Earl all his Secrets, he returned to *England*, where he was graciously received by the King, but the People looking upon him with Horror, loaded him with Curses. The Earl of *Suffolk's* Measures being entirely broken by *Curson's* Flight, he roved up and down for some Time in *Germany*, and at length returned to *Flanders*, where the Archduke, notwithstanding the Treaties he had made with *Henry*, took him under his Protection.

The King uses an extraordinary Method to deceive him.

The King being very well satisfied that the Earl had not in *England* a Party strong enough to support him, showed no farther Uneasiness upon his Score. Another Business troubled him much more. He had received a Hundred Thousand Crowns of Gold, in Part of the Portion of the Princess of *Wales* his Daughter-in-law *Arthur's* Widow. As that Prince died without Issue, there was a Necessity either of sending

Project of Marriage between the Princess of Wales and Prince Henry.

* At the same Time were taken up *George Lord Abergavenny*, and *Sir Thomas Green*, but upon less Suspicion, and therefore were soon after set at Liberty. *Bacon.*

1503.

Agreement between
Henry and
Ferdinand
Jan. 23.
Act Pub.
XIII. 76.

sending back the Widow to Spain, and consequently of returning the Hundred Thousand Crowns, or in Case she stayed in England, of giving her the Third Part of the *Principality of Wales**, which had been settled upon her. Both these Things were equally grievous to a Prince of Henry's Temper. However there was no avoiding them without breaking with *Ferdinand*, the which did not at all suit with his present Circumstances. The Truth is, the Difference of other Princes, and especially the King of *France* had for him, was properly owing to his strict Alliance with the *Spanish* Monarch. In this streight he be-thought himself of an Expedient very proper to secure him the Friendship of *Ferdinand*, with the Sum received, and to help him to the other Hundred Thousand Crowns which remained to be paid. And that was to marry *Catharine* to his Son *Henry*, now Prince of *Wales* by the Death of his elder Brother. The Proposal being made to the King and Queen of *Spain*, they agreed to it on Condition the Pope's *Dispensation* was first procured. This was the Subject of an Agreement made between the two Crowns on the 23d of *June*, without any mention of the Articles of the intended Marriage. It must be observed, that in this Agreement, it was alledged as a necessary Reason for demanding the *Dispensation*, not only that *Arthur* and *Henry* were *Brothers*, but moreover that *Arthur's* Marriage with *Catharine* was solemnized in Form, and consummated.

Pope Julius's Dis-
pensation
for the
Marriage.
Dec. 26.
p. 88.

Alexander VI dying in the mean Time, *Pius IV* succeeded him. But as he out-lived not the 18th of *October*, it was to *Julius II*, who was elected the 1st of *November*, that the two King applied for the *Dispensation*. The new Pope granted a *Bull* to that Purpose, wherein he said, that in the *Petition* lately presented to him, *Henry* and *Catharine* did set forth, that
Catharine

* And likewise of the Dukedom of *Cornwal*, and Earldom of *Chester*. for a Third of all three was settled upon her *Bacon*, Rym. Fæd.

Catbarine had contracted Matrimony *per verba de Præfenti*, with the late Prince *Arthur*, and that the Marriage had been solemnized in Form, and *perhaps consummated*. Upon the Word *perhaps*, it must be remarked, that upon this Occasion it cannot be a Term denoting any Doubt, since it was not the Pope that speaks in the *Petition*, but *Catbarine*, who should know whether the Marriage was consummated or not. It is only a Term to give the greater Force to the *Dispensation*, as obviating all the Objections which one should be able to make. This is evident by the Sequel of the *Bull*, where the Pope permits *Henry* and *Catbarine* to remain in the State of Matrimony, though they should have been married before, publicly or privately, and should have *perhaps* consummated their Marriage by carnal Copulation. It is easy to see that the Word *perhaps*, is inserted purely to give the more Force to the *Dispensation*, by preventing all Cases that might render it invalid. It was necessary to make these Observations beforehand, by Reason of the important Consequences this Affair was attended with in the following Reign.

The King of *Scotland's* Marriage was consummated in *September* according to Agreement, *Henry* having conducted the Queen his Daughter as far as *York*, from whence she pursued her Journey to *Scotland*.

Margaret is conducted to Scotland.

The Archduke *Philip* returned this Year into the *Low-Countries* after about a Year's stay in *Spain*. As he passed through *France*, he endeavoured to make up a Difference between King *Ferdinand* his Father-in-law, and *Lewis XII*, about the Kingdom of *Naples*. He even took upon him to conclude in *Ferdinand's* Name, a Treaty which *Ferdinand* afterwards refused to stand to. Had he had to do with a Prince of less Goodness and Equity than *Lewis XII*, that Refusal might have thrown him into great Streights. But *Lewis* was so Generous as not to take Advantage of it. The Occasion, in short, of the Rupture between the two Monarchs was this :

The Archduke returns to the Low-Countries. Mezerai.

I have

1503.
Rupture
between
Lewis XII
and Ferdi-
nand.

The French
are driven
out of Na-
ples.

1504.
Subsidy
given the
King for
the Marri-
age of his
Daughter.

Bacon.
Dudley
Speaker of
the House
of Com-
mons.

I have mentioned before, that they had divided the Kingdom of *Naples* after conquering it. It was hardly possible that these two Princes should long possess their respective Shares, without some Occasion of Quarrel happening. Accordingly a Dispute arose about the *Capitanata* which each would have in his Lot. Whereupon the *French* and *Spaniards* came to Blows. At first the *French* got the better, but afterwards they lost two Battles, one near *St. Severina* in *Calabria* on the 21st of *April*, the other on the 28th of the same Month at *Cerignoles*, where the Duke of *Nemours* their General was slain. After these two Victories *Gonsolvo*, who commanded *Ferdinand's* Troops, became Master of the whole Kingdom of *Naples*. *Lewis* desirous to repair his Losses, sent a strong Army into *Italy*. But sundry unexpected Accidents rendered it of no Effect.

The 16th of *January* 1504 the King assembled the Parliament on pretense of the Necessity of reviving certain *Statutes*, and making some new ones. But the real Motive of calling it was to demand a *Subsidy* for the Portion of his eldest Daughter. The Custom of demanding Money on such Occasions redounded too much to the King's Benefit for him to suffer it to be abolished. The Queen of *Scotland's* Portion was but thirty Thousand *Nobles* *, but one may guess that the *Subsidy* amounted to a much larger Sum, besides that the *Clergy* made him also a handsome Present upon the same Account. So instead of emptying his Coffers by marrying his Daughter, he filled them the fuller by it. Nothing shows more plainly the almost absolute Power the King had ingrossed, than the Choice of *Dudley* for *Speaker* of the *House of Commons*. He was the most hated Person in the Kingdom, except *Empson* his Associate, who was as odious as himself. Wherefore it must needs be that the Fear of displeasing the King, by rejecting the Person he re-

com-

* *Rapin* calls them Crowns. But *Rymer* XIII. 118 says, 30,000 *Angels Nobles*, the Value of each Noble being *Viginti Grossos*.

commended, made the *Commons* resolve to make that Choice. 1504.

The *Subsidy* was not the only Thing that the King made to turn to his Account in this Parliament. He found Means to get some *Acts* passed which seemed to aim wholly at the Good of the Publick, but in reality tended only to procure him Money. For Instance, all *Patents* of *Lease* or *Grant* were disannulled to such as came not [upon lawful *Summons*] to serve the King against the Rebels *. As the Number of *Delinquents* in this Respect was very great, this *Act* was a fertile Source of Treasure to the King, by reason they were obliged to renew their *Leases* and *Grants*, which they could not do but upon very hard Conditions.

Advantageous Statutes for the King.

Another *Statute* made all sorts of clipped or impaired *Coins* of Silver not to be Currant in Payments, without suffering them so much as to pass for the Value of their Weight. As there were scarce any other in the Kingdom, every Body was fain to bring in their ready Money to the *Mint*, in order to be new coined, by which the King was a very great Gainer.

The *Statute* against giving *Liveries* to any but *Menial* Servants was also revived, from whence *Empson* and *Dudley* had an Opportunity to attack abundance of People.

Thus the King continually heaping up without being obliged to any extraordinary Expence, at a Time when his ordinary Expences were very moderate and husbanded in the best Manner possible, could not but abound in ready Money. But then he doubly ruined his Subjects; first by draining their Purses, and secondly by hindering the Coin, of which he had great Quantities in his Treasury, from circulating in Trade. On the other Hand, *Empson* and *Dudley* kept on their shameful Extortions with such Rigour that the *En-*

* The like *Act* had been made before for *Offices*, and by this *Statute* it was extended to *Lands*. *Bacon*.

1404.

gliff had never felt the like under any of their former Kings.

The King
thinks of
canoni-
zing Hen-
ry VI. but
drops it.

About this time Henry had Thoughts of *canonizing* Henry VI. the last King of the *House of Lancaster*. But he met with two grand Obstacles. The first, that the *Miracles* ascribed to that Prince since his Death were not well attested, and that the Actions of his Life which they made such boast of, showed rather the Weakness of his Understanding than his Sanctity. But the second Difficulty caused the Project entirely to vanish, which was the necessary Charges of this *Canonization*. As it is an Act of Grace and Favour, the Pope proportions generally the Expences not to the Person of the *Saint* himself, but to the Riches of him that solicites the *Canonization*. The King even perceived, that the Court of *Rome's* questioning Henry the Sixth's Sanctity, tended only to heighten the Favour and enhance the Price accordingly. This was enough to make him lay aside all Thoughts of the Matter. So avaricious a Prince could hardly resolve to empty his Coffers for so needless a Thing, and which at best would have procured him only the Praises of the Friends of the *House of Lancaster*. He was contented therefore with obtaining a *Bull* for the Removal of Henry VI's Body to *Westminster* among his Ancestors. He had been buried at first in a secret Place of the Monastery at *Chertsey* near London, from whence he was removed to *Windsor*.

Bull to re-
move his
Corps to
Westmin-
ster.
Act Pub.
XII. 103.
Jun. 19.
Proclama-
tion in fa-
vour of the
Subjects.
Aug. 19.
p. 106.

The 19th of August Henry issued out a *Proclamation*, giving notice that he had appointed *Commissioners* to whom his Creditors and such as had any Demands upon him might apply for the Space of two Years, to commence the first Day of *November*. It is pretty hard to guess whether he did this from a Principle of Equity, and with Intent to satisfy those he had injured, or whether he designed only to blind Peoples Eyes by this Act of Justice. The first would be the most likely, if from this time he had put a stop to the Exactions of *Empson* and *Dudley*. But it is difficult to believe that, whilst he suffered his Subjects to be op-
pressed

pressed by these two *Ministers*, he really intended to do Justice to all the World. 1504.

Isabella Queen of *Castile* dying on the 26th of November, *Ferdinand* her Spouse writ the same Day to *Henry* to give him notice of it. He told him in his Letter that the deceased Queen had appointed him in her *Will* Administrator of the Kingdom of *Castile*, for *Joan* their Daughter, Wife of the Archduke of *Austria*, and who by the Death of the Queen her Mother was become Queen of *Castile*. *Death of the Queen of Castile* p. 112.

When the Archduke received the News of *Isabella's* Death, he was employed in making War upon the Duke of *Guedres*. This War preventing him from going into *Spain* so soon as he could have wished, he saw himself obliged to leave to King *Ferdinand* his Father-in-law the Government of *Castile*, fully bent however to take it from him as soon as possible. On the other Hand, *Ferdinand* making the best of *Isabella's Will*, pretended to keep the Administration of that Kingdom as long as he lived, apparently because the deceased Queen had limited it to no Time. *Dispute between Ferdinand and the Archduke his Son-in-law.*

This Dispute bred some Uneasiness in *Henry*, whose Case was the same with *Ferdinand's*, in the Opinion of many People. He was not ignorant that his Subjects for the most Part were persuaded that *Elizabeth* his Spouse had been of Right the true Queen of *England*, and consequently the Crown was fallen after her Decease to *Henry* her Son and lawful Heir. Tho' he affected to hold for certain, that *the House of York* had never any Right to the Crown, yet he could not but be uneasy on that Score, because in general the *English* were of another mind. It is true, that besides his Descent from the *House of Lancaster*, he founded his Right upon two other Titles, namely, *Conquest* and an *Act* of Parliament. But he plainly perceived how weak these two Foundations would prove, should *the House of York*, by some Turn, come to get ground. Upon this account he was very attentive to what passed in *Spain*, looking upon the Decision of this Contest as a *Precedent* for or against him. On the other Hand,

1505. Hand, he was afraid that *Philip*, who some time since seemed closely united with *Lewis XII*, would join in a League with that Monarch and the Emperour, to oblige *Ferdinand* to yield him up *Castile*. In that Case he foresaw that he should be forced either to abandon *Ferdinand* to these three potent Enemies, or to enter into a War with them on his account. Both these things were equally opposite to his Interests. In fine, he had cast his Eyes upon the Queen Dowager of *Naples*, Widow of King *Ferdinand*, for a Wife, that he might enjoy the large Dower settled upon her in that Kingdom. Perhaps he was in hopes by marrying that Queen, to render himself Umpire of the Dispute between *Lewis XII*. and *Ferdinand* about the Kingdom of *Naples*.

He projects
to marry
the Queen
Dowager
of Naples.

With Design therefore to know fully the State of the *Castilians*, and the Qualities of the Queen of *Naples*, he sent three Persons into *Italy* and *Spain*, not as Ambassadors but as Travellers for their Pleasure*. But however, that they might have access to the Queen of *Naples* and *Ferdinand*, he ordered it so that the Princess of *Wales* gave them Letters both for the King her Father and the young Queen. These Gentlemen's private Instructions with respect to the Queen were very particular. The King wanted to be informed exactly of her Age, her Complexion, her Stature, her Health, her Temper, her Inclinations, her Behaviour and Estate. This shows he was not willing to be rash in his Resolution. But the Project vanished when the King came to find by his Messengers, that indeed the Queen's Marriage-Settlement was very considerable: but that *Ferdinand* had changed it into a Pension for Life, since his being possessed of the Kingdom of *Naples*.

Affairs of
Ferdinand
and *Philip*.

When the Gentlemen arrived in *Spain*, the Contest between *Ferdinand* and *Philip* his Son-in-law was still on the same Foot. They sent the King word therefore,

* They were *Francis Maslin*, *James Braybrook*, and *John Stile Bacon*.

ore, that *Ferdinand* continued to govern *Castile* as Administrator: That he was even in hopes to persuade *Philip* to leave him the Administration freely during his Life, as well by Means of some of his Coancil whom he had won, as by threatening him to marry gain, and so give an Heir to the Kingdom of *Aragon*: That there was to that End a Marriage on foot between *Ferdinand* and *Germaine de Foix*, which would be infallibly accomplished, in case *Philip* was resolved to molest the King his Father-in-law. They informed him moreover, that *Ferdinand's* Secretary had discovered to them as a great Secret, that the Marriage of Prince *Charles* of *Austria* with *Claude* of *France* would not take effect, because *Lewis XII.* was bent to give his Daughter to *Francis* Duke of *Angoulême* his Heir-apparent. That then, on Supposition that *Philip* would stay in the Low-Countries with his Queen, *Ferdinand* intended to demand of the King *Mary* his second Daughter for the young Prince of *Austria*. These Informations containing nothing certain, *Henry* could take no Measures, till he saw how the Affairs of *Spain* were like to go.

Whilst *Ferdinand* and *Philip* were negotiating about their Difference, *Philip* and *Joan* were proclaimed King and Queen of *Castile* at *Brussels*. They showed by that, they intended not to give up for ever the Administration of *Castile* to *Ferdinand* as he had flattered himself. Mean while the War of *Guedres*, and Queen *Joan's* being near her Time, hindered them from going as they had resolved to *Castile*. They knew that the *Castilians* were not well-pleased with *Ferdinand*, and doubted not but as soon as they should appear, all the People would declare for them. For the same Reason *Ferdinand* made use of all his Cunning to dissuade them from going.

Philip and Joan take the Title of King and Queen of Castile.

In the mean while *Margaret* of *Austria*, *Philip's* Sister, lost her Spouse the Duke of *Savoy*, who died the 10th of *September*. Some Days after the new Queen of *Castile* was brought to Bed of a Princess who

Death of the Duke of Savoy.

1505. who was called *Mary*, and was afterwards *Queen of Hungary*.

Henry's
Alliance
with the
Duke of
Saxony.
XIII. 120.

This Year brought forth but very few remarkable Events with regard to *England*. Besides what has been related, we find only a Treaty of Alliance between *Henry* and *George Duke of Saxony*, Hereditary Governour of *Frise*, to whom *Henry* had sent Ambassadors ever since *February*. This Treaty was concluded on the 30th of *December*.

1506.
Philip and
Joan set
out for
Spain.

The War of *Gueldres* being over, and *Queen Joan* able to travel, *Philip* resolved to carry her to *Castile*, well-knowing that was the only way to secure the Government of that Kingdom. Though they intended to go thither by Sea, they chose the Winter Season, it seems, on purpose to take *Ferdinand* unawares, who probably would not expect them at that time of the Year. They set out on the 10th of *January* under a strong Convoy prepared before-hand. But before they got out of the Channel, a terrible Storm dispersed their Fleet, and the Ship on which they were aboard, with much difficulty ran into *Weymouth* in *England*, having been in great danger. The King and Queen were so fatigued and sick, that contrary to the Opinion of their Council they would need land to refresh their Spirits.

A Storm
drives
them into
England.
They land
at Wey-
mouth.

Mean while the Country People seeing a large Fleet, were very much alarmed. They immediately ran to their Arms, and *Sir Thomas Trenchard* at the Head of some Troops marched to *Weymouth*, to join the People in case of an Invasion. As soon as he heard that the King and Queen of *Castile* were landed, he went and paid his Respects to them, praying them to do him the Honour to lodge at his House, till the King was informed of their Arrival. *Philip* would very fain have embarked again. But he perceived they would not suffer him till they had received the King's Orders, to whom an *Express* was dispatched. So without much Intreaty he consented to stay till they heard from Court.

As

As soon as *Henry* had notice of the King and Queen of *Castile's* Arrival, he sent the Earl of *Arundel* * with his Compliments, letting them know that he would make all possible haste to come and embrace them. The Earl withal assured them from the King, that they were as much Master in his Dominions as himself. *Philip* finding there was no avoiding seeing the King, believ'd he should gain time by going to him. To that Purpose he went with all speed to *Windsor*, whilst his Queen followed by easy Journeys. *Henry* received them both with all the Marks of Friendship he could devise, but however, ruminating all the while how to reap some Advantage from the Accident which had thrown them into his Dominions *.

1506.
The King
sends his
Compli-
ments to
them.

They go to
the King at
Windsor.

Some Days after he gave *Philip* to understand, that as his Condition was altered, it would be proper to renew their Treaty of Commerce; to which *Philip* agreed, though the Reason *Henry* alledged was of no manner of force. For *Philip* by being King of *Castile*, was not the less Sovereign of the *Low-Countries*, the first Dignity causing no Alteration in the last. But *Henry* had his Views, and *Philip* plainly enough perceived that being in his Power, he ought carefully to avoid all Occasions of offending him, for fear he should find some Pretence to stay him in *England*. He was not ignorant of the strict Union between *Henry* and *Ferdinand*, and was under some Apprehensions that *Henry* would think of obstructing his Voyage in Kindness to his Father-in-law. However that be, the Treaty was renewed, but with some Alterations in favour of the *English*. Amongst other Things, an Article of the old Treaty was suppressed, which permitted

Treaty of
Commerce
renewed in
favour of
the Eng-
lish.
XIII. 142.

* The Earl came to him in great Magnificence with a brave Troop of three hundred Horse, and (for the more State) by Torch-light. Bacon.

* *Philip* at their first Meeting told the King, That he was now punished for his refusing to come within his walled Town of Calais, when they met last. The King replied, That Walls and Seas were nothing where Hearts were open; and that he was here only to be served. Bacon.

1506.

mitted *Philip's* Subjects to fish on the Coasts of *England*. This made the Inhabitants of the *Low-Countries* call it [*Intercursus Malus* or] *the Bad Treaty*.

Henry's
Marriage
with the
Dutchess of
Savoy a-
greed upon.
151. 155.

This Affair being finished, *Henry* opened his Mind to *Philip* about his Design to marry *Margaret* his Sister, Widow of the Duke of *Savoy*. *Philip* seemed very well-pleased with the Proposal. And indeed, nothing could be more for his Advantage than to make *Henry* his Friend by this Alliance, for fear he should openly espouse the King of *Arragon's* Quarrel. So the Marriage was concluded at *Windsor* on the 20th of *March* *. By the Articles signed by both Sides, *Philip* bound himself to give the Dutchess his Sister Three Hundred Thousand Crowns [of *French Gold*] with a yearly Pension of Three Thousand Eight Hundred and Fifty of the same. Mean while, *Henry* fearing *Philip* would go from his word, when he should be out of his Power, caused to be inserted in the Treaty, that the principal Lords of the *Low-Countries* should swear, that they would use their utmost Endeavours to have the Marriage consummated. The Oaths of several of the Lords in pursuance of this Article, are to be seen in the *Collection of the Publick Acts*.

Henry de-
mands of
Philip the
Earl of
Suffolk.
Philip de-
nies him.

Henry had one Thing more to obtain of *Philip*, without which he could not think of letting him go, though outwardly he continued to caress him. And that was, to deliver up the Earl of *Suffolk* who was then in *Flanders*. But upon his proposing it, *Philip* told him plainly, that he could not comply with his Request: that he was engaged in Honour not to sacrifice a Lord whom he had taken under his Protection: that besides, the doing as he desired would be dishonourable to himself, since the World would not fail to say that he was forced to it when he was in *England*. *Henry*, who minded but little what the World said provided he got his Ends, replied, that

* This Treaty of Marriage is not found in the *Pacta*, but is supposed and referred to by the *Acts* which follow the Treaty of Alliance or Commerce, dated Feb. 9.

he would take all the Dishonour upon himself. This Answer threw *Philip* into a great Perplexity. He was unwilling to betray the Earl of *Suffolk* after promise to protect him. But on the other Hand, he was very sensible that *Henry* was bent upon having that Lord at any rate, and that he had an infallible Means in his Hands to come at him. Besides, in the present Posture of his Affairs, not being sure yet whether he should not be forced to go to War with his Father-in-law, it was easy for him to foresee that he might stand in need of the King of *England*, and therefore it would be very wrong to disoblige him. In spite of the Streight he was in, he suddenly came to a Resolution, and with an Air of Confidence spoke in this manner: Sir, since you are pleased to give Law to me, permit me to do the same by you. I will deliver up the Earl, but you shall give me your Honour that you'll not touch his Life. *Henry* agreeing to what he said, *Philip* desired the Thing might be done so, as both their Honours should be saved. I'll order the Matter, added he, that the Earl shall come to *England* of his own accord, by which it will appear that I have solicited and obtained his Pardon, and that you were very ready to grant it. *Henry* liking the Expedient, the Earl of *Suffolk* willingly closed with the Offer made him. Mean while, *Henry* desirous of having the Earl in his Power before *Philip's* Departure, continued his Entertainments and Diversions on pretence of doing Honour to the King and Queen of *Castile*, but in reality, on purpose to gain Time till the Earl was arrived. He admitted *Philip* to the Order of the Garter, and *Philip* made the Prince of *Wales* Knight of the Golden-Fleece. After that, *Henry* carried his Guests to *London*, where they were magnificently entertained. Shortly after the Earl of *Suffolk* came from *Flanders*, and was conveyed to the Tower. Thus *Henry* kept *Philip* in *England* above three Months under colour of doing him Honour, till he had got all he wanted of him. In all appearance *Philip* saw plainly, notwithstanding all the Caresses he received, that it was not in his

1506.
He complains on
Conscience
Henry would not
put him in
doubt

The Earl
of Suffolk
is shut to
the Tower.

1506. Philip and his Queen set out for Spain. Power to go when he pleased: Else it is not likely that, as he intended to sail into *Spain* in the Month of *January*, he would have staid willingly in *England* till the End of *April* or the Beginning of *May*.

Ferdinand requires to Arragon. Upon Philip's and Joan's Arrival in *Castile*, the People showed so great Affection for them, that *Ferdinand* could easily see that his Endeavours to keep the Government of the Kingdom would be in vain. Accordingly, without insisting any longer upon his *Administration*, which could not take place but in the Queen his Daughter's Absence, he withdrew to his own Realm of *Arragon*. After which he went to *Naples*, where *Gonsolvo* his General began to raise his Jealousy. Thus *Philip* and *Joan* remained in Possession of *Castile*: but they did not continue so long. Philip's Death. Within a few Months *Philip* was seized with a Distemper, of which he died the 25th of *September*. He left the Guardianship of his Son *Charles* to *Lewis XII.* who appointed the Lord *de Chievrei* for his Governour. This Choice, which was generally well liked, and was a clear Evidence of *Lewis's* Honesty and Disinterestedness, proved fatal to *France*, inasmuch as the Governour made his *Pupil* more Able than would have been necessary for the Good of the Kingdom.

Joan loses her Senses, and Ferdinand returns to Castile. The Death of *Philip* was so astonishing a Blow to his Queen, that it quite turned her Brains, and made her incapable of governing the State. Whereupon *Ferdinand* her Father resumed the Administration of Affairs, which he had been deprived of but five Months. He is said to take no great Care to have the Queen cured, lest recovering her Senses she should send him back again to *Arragon*.

Lewis XII. gives to the Duke of Angoulême his Daughter promised to Charles of Austria. The Disinterestedness *Lewis XII.* had shown in respect to the young Archduke Prince of *Spain*, was not long-lived. He had promised to give him *Claude* his eldest Daughter in Marriage: but he thought it better to marry her to *Francis* Duke of *Angoulême* his Heir-apparent. Moreover, being apprehensive that a League would be formed against him between the Emperour, the Archduke, and *Ferdinand*, and that

that the King of *England* might come into it likewise, he did all he could to embroil young *Charles's* Affairs, by stirring up the Duke of *Gueldres* to renew the War.

The Archduke being too young to govern, the *Flemings* prayed the Emperour his Grandfather to come and take the Administration in his Grandson's Name. *Maximilian* granted their Request, and till he could come himself he sent them *Margaret* his Daughter, Widow of the Duke of *Savoy*.

1507.
Margaret
Duchess
of Savoy
governs
the Low-
Countries.

Upon that Princess's Arrival at *Brussels*, she concluded with *Henry* a provisional Treaty of Commerce, till they should have time to settle some Differences which the late Treaty had occasioned between the Merchants of both Nations. This Treaty was signed at *Calais* on the 5th of *June*.

Treaty of
Commerce
with the
Low-
Countries.
XIII. 168.

The same Ambassadors which were met at *Calais*, spent the rest of the Year there, in treating of the Marriage of *Charles* Archduke of *Austria*, Sovereign of the *Low-Countries*; and Prince of *Castile*, with *Mary*, *Henry's* second Daughter. At length, on the 21st of *December*, they signed a Treaty, wherein it was agreed that *Charles* should marry the Princess *Mary* as soon as he should be fourteen Years old, and that her Portion should be Two Hundred and Fifty Thousand Crowns of Gold. The young Prince ran the Risk of losing the Kingdoms of *Arragon*, *Valencia*, *Grenada*, and the Principality of *Catalonia*, his Grandfather *Ferdinand* having married *Germaine de Foix*. But luckily for him they had no Children.

Marriage
agreed up-
on between
Mary the
King's
Daughter
with
Charles of
Austria.
171--230.

Though *Henry's* Treasury over-flowed, yet was he never satisfied with heaping up Money. We have seen that in the Year 1504 the Parliament gave him a Subsidy for the Marriage of the Queen of *Scotland* his Daughter. But the Year was not expired, before he issued out a Proclamation to levy a Benevolence of his own Authority, and without any apparent Necessity: So that it could not be ascribed but to

Henry
heaps up
vast Ri-
ches.

1507. his insatiable Desire of hoarding up Money *. He was grown so absolute in his Kingdom, that not a Soul durst oppose his Will, or even show the least Dislike. Mean while *Empson* and *Dudley* continued their Extortions and Oppressions with all imaginable Rigour. This very Year 1507, they fiercely prosecuted the Mayor of London for his neglecting to bring to Justice a Coiner of false Money; and because he would not or could not pay an exorbitant Fine, they sent him to the Tower. The Sheriffs, Aldermen, and all those that had bore any Office in the City, were questioned and prosecuted with the same Rigour, and compelled to pay to the King Fines, proportioned not to their Abilities, but to the King's and his Ministers Rapaciousness.

The King is seized with the Gout, which turns to a Puffick. Whilst the King was wholly intent upon heaping up Riches, he found himself frequently seized with the Gout. At first he minded it not, because he thought there was no Danger in that Distemper. But by Degrees the Humour falling upon his Lungs, it turned to a Puffick, which made him perceive he had not long to live. He permitted however his two Ministers to continue their Exactions without any respect of Persons. He was so pleased to see his Coffers full of Gold and Silver, that he could not find in his Heart to put a Stop to the shameful Proceedings which daily brought him in fresh Sums. He is said to hoard up Eighteen Hundred Thousand Pound Sterling. This Sum will appear prodigious, if we consider how scarce Money was then in Europe, in Comparison of what it is now-a-Days. He laid up his Treasures at Richmond, in Vaults, and would trust no Body with the Keys.

He hoaps up 1800,000l.

1508. Marriage of Charles and Mary solemnized by Proxy. As the Marriage of the Princess Mary with the Archduke was the only considerable Affair Henry had upon his Hands at that Time, he employed the whole Year

XIII. 230-236. Besides what he got by the Recoinage of Groats and Half-Groats, now Shillings and Six-Pence. And the five Thousand Mark, which he made the City pay for the Confirmation of their Liberties in 1504, &c.

Year 1508 in taking Measures to make it sure. The Acts of this Year, in *the Collection*, scarce regard any Thing else. At length, on the 17th of December, the Marriage was accomplished *per verba de Præsenti*, the Lord *de Berghes* being the young Prince's Proxy. As such, he espoused the Princess, gave her a Ring, and saluted her publickly in the Name of the Prince her Spouse *.

About the same Time the Archduke pawned to Charles the King a Jewel called *the Rich Flower-de-luce* * borrowed of Henry 50 000 Crowns upon a Jewel. ibid. for the Sum of fifty Thousand Crowns. The Emperor as Grandfather and Guardian of Charles, approved of the Marriage and Loan. In all likelihood the Money was borrowed for him. He had Occasion for it to make a Figure in the League of *Cambray* which he had concluded this Year with the Pope and King of *France*, against the *Venetians*, who were become formidable to all *Italy*. 234--239.

As to Henry's Marriage with *Margaret of Austria*, Henry though it had been concluded in 1506, he thought no more of it, after his falling into a *Ptiffick*, being sensible he was fitter to think of Death than a Wife. Henry thinks no more of his own Marriage.

The King perceiving he daily grew worse, was pleased to prepare for Death by granting a *General Pardon*. He freed likewise all Debtors that were in Prison for any Sum under forty Shillings, and payed the Creditors with his own Money. Then he made his *Will*, ordering that his *Heir* should make Restitution of whatever his *Officers* and *Ministers* had unjustly taken from his Subjects. But this Remorse came upon him too late. As he could not resolve to do it in his Life-Time, the Prince his Son thought not fit to 1509. A General Pardon. He orders his Heir to make Restitution.

* Henry was so pleased with that Alliance, that in a Letter to the City of *London*, he expresses himself as if he thought he had built a *Wall of Brass* about his Kingdom, in having for his Son-in-law a King of *Scotland*, and a Prince of *Castile* and *Burgundy*. *Bacon*.

* There is in the *Pardons* the Inventory of the Jewels contained in the *Rich Flower-de-luce*, which weighed, in Gold and precious Stones, 211 Ounces and a half. XIII. 241.

1508.

Death of
Henry
VII.

to let go the Money the King his Father had raked together. He died at *Richmond* on the 22d of *April* 1509, having lived two and fifty Years, and reigned three and Twenty, and eight Months. His Death is said to happen in good Time, for if he had lived much longer, the Prince his Son being now in his seventeenth Year, might not have had the Patience to stay till his Father's Death should put him in Possession of the Throne. In which Case he would have been able to support himself with the Queen his Mother's Title, Heirefs of the *House of York*, and to pretend that the King his Father reigned only in the Right of his Queen. This Pretension would have been capable of reviving the old Quarrel and kindling afresh the Flames of a Civil War in the Kingdom. But the King's Death put an End to the Fears of the *English*.

His Issue.

Henry VII had three Sons and four Daughters. *Arthur* his eldest died in his seventeenth Year, as hath been said. *Henry* his second was his Successor, and *Edmund* his Third died at the Age of five Years. Of his four Daughters, two died in their Infancy, and the other two, *Margaret* and *Mary*, are sufficiently known by what has been said of them.

His Character.

If one reads the History of this Reign with never so little Attention, he will plainly perceive that *Henry* made two Things the sole Ends of all his Actions. The first was to keep the Crown which he had acquired by extraordinary Good-Fortune, and it may be, without ever thinking any Thing of the Matter, till he was invited into *England* by the Duke of *Buckingham*. The other was to heap up Riches. As he never suffered himself to be diverted by other Thoughts, he was wholly intent upon fully examining all Matters which could any ways relate to the two Ends he had ever in View. Ambition, Honour, Glory, Love, Pleasures and the like, which generally possess the Souls of Princes, made but a slight Impression upon his. Content with enjoying his Crown, he thought neither of new Acquisitions, nor of re-
dering

dering his Name Illustrious by great Actions. His Thoughts were entirely taken up with preventing or defeating the Designs of his Domestick Enemies, or with well filling his Coffers. He had a strange Sagacity in finding out how to make every Thing he was concerned in, turn to his Account. This is what he plainly made appear in the Affair of *Bretagne*, in the Wars he feigned to wage with *France* and *Scotland*, and even in his Domestick Troubles, which by his cunning Management turned all to his Profit.

Though he saw himself sometimes forced to take up Arms, never Prince loved Peace better than he *. As he had no Ambition, War had no Charms for him. On the contrary, he considered that all the Events of a War whether foreign or domestick, were against his Interest. A foreign War could at best but procure him some Glory and Acquisitions Abroad, of which he was not very fond; and a Domestick War might do him a great Injury. Besides a Time of Commotions was no proper Season to devise means to scrape up Riches. So having laid down this Maxim of his Policy, never to engage in any War without an absolute Necessity, he kept steddily to his Principle. It is this that made him behold the loss of *Bretagne* without Concern, and suffer the Insults of the King of *Scotland* without Resentment, because it was not from the War it self that he intended to reap any Advantage, but only from the Preparations he should be obliged to make. However, this Policy of his would have been unseasonable when he was attacked by domestick Enemies, whose Aim was to rob him of his Crown. As his All then lay at Stake, he faced the Danger chearfully, though with all the Precautions possible not to run any Hazard. He won two Battles upon the Rebels, one at *Stoke*, the other

* His usual Preface to his Treaties was, *That when Christ came into the World, Peace was sung; and when he went out of the World, Peace was bequeathed.* Bacon.

other at *Black-Heath*. But in both he had great Odds on his Side; and fought with Men ill-armed and unskilled in the Art of War. So one cannot say what he would have done, had he been opposed with equal Forces. It is full as difficult to know whether it was owing to his Courage that he headed his Armies in Person; or to his Distrust of those that served him. However that be, he was always fortunate in his Domestick Wars; and from thence gained so great a Name, that all the Princes of *Europe* earnestly courted his Alliance. On the other Hand, the Esteem Foreigners showed for him, did not a little contribute to the rendering him feared by his Subjects. I say, feared, for it is certain he was never beloved. In a Word, his Methods of governing, which came very near to *arbitrary Power*, especially towards the End of his Reign, his insatiable Avarice, his Haughtiness, his Pride, and his dark and reserved Temper, were no proper Qualities to win the Affections of his People.

He never opened his Mind to any Body, except it may be to one or two of his *Ministers*. As for the rest, he set them to work without their knowing themselves the Motives of their own Proceedings. The World was so perswaded that he had always some hidden Design even in his most indifferent Actions, that very often that was ascribed to his Policy, which was purely the Effect of Chance.

The *Spies* he kept in foreign Courts gave him a pretty extensive Knowledge of all that passed there. On the other Side, his Ambassadors were always charged to get Information by all sorts of Ways, of the *Secrets* of the Princes they were sent to. Very often it was the main Point of their *Instructions*. By this Means he made such *Discoveries* as enabled him to convince the foreign *Ministers* residing at his Court, of his great Insight into their Master's Affairs. Hence he reaped many considerable Advantages, chiefly in that the Princes of *Europe* standing in Awe of his Abilities were very forward to live in good Under-
standing

standing with him. His strict Friendship with *Ferdinand King of Arragon*, who was a Prince of much the same Character, was exceeding useful to him. In all likelihood it hindered the Court of *France* from meddling more with the Affairs of *England*, and was one of the principal Causes of the constant Peace he had with his Neighbours.

Instead of raising the Credit of the *Nobility*, he took all possible Care to lessen it. His *Council* was almost wholly made up of *Churchmen* and *Lawyers*, who being devoted to him, and having no other End but to please him, never opposed his Will. The unlimited Compliance which his *Council* had for him, was the Cause that he gave himself up without Discretion to his natural Passion for heaping up Money, there being no Person about him, that had Boldness or Conscience enough to give him good Advice upon that Head. His Behaviour in this Respect drew upon him the Hatred of the *English*, which at first made him a little Uneasy. But when he was got over all his Troubles, he minded it not. On the contrary, he affected to rule with an absolute Power, making of his *Council* a *Court of Justice*, which decided all *Suits* belonging to the Crown, the which had never been seen before.

He has been very much cried up for the good Laws made in his Reign, as if he had been the sole Legislator, and his Parliament no ways concerned. Hence perhaps it is that they have given him the glorious Name of the *Solomon of England*, though he was much more like that Prince in the heavy Yoke he laid on the People. But if a Man should carefully examine these Laws, he would find that the King's Interest was at the Bottom of them, though in Appearance they seemed to be enacted for the Good of the People. In the same Manner did *William the Conqueror* formerly proceed, whom our *Henry* resembled in so many Things, that one might draw a just Parallel between them. In short, *Henry's* most distinguishing Character was, that he lived entirely for

1599. himself, considering Things only with regard to his own private Interest, and gave no heed to any Affairs wherein that was not concerned. 'Tis true indeed, such a Character is not uncommon among Princes. But his was peculiar in this, that whereas the View of other Princes is divided usually into several Branches, *Henry's* was as it were confined to one Thing, namely, the having his Coffers always full.

He was extremely Suspicious, as those generally are who act with hidden Views, because they think all the World like themselves. The *House of York's* Title, and the People's Opinion upon that Head, filled his Soul with Fears and Suspicions, wherewith he was continually racked. It is true he took great Care to conceal his Uneasiness. But his Behaviour and Precautions plainly enough showed that his Mind was not so calm as he would fain have had it believed. This perpetual Distrust carried him to seek without ceasing, the Means to prevent Danger, in which he was not always successful. Witness, the Report he caused to be spread that the Duke of *York* was alive, which had a quite contrary Effect to what he expected. He had but a pretty narrow Genius. He saw better near at Hand than at a Distance, and his Wisdom consisted rather in extricating himself at a Pinch, than in finding Means to avoid the Danger. The chief Troubles in his Reign may be said to happen by his own Fault. However he acquired, by a long Experience, Qualities which by Nature he had not.

It is no wonder that a Prince always engaged in preventing the Rebellion of his Subjects, and ever busied in heaping up Money, should have performed nothing Glorious for himself or the Kingdom. They are your Conquerors that make the greatest Kings. On the contrary, Peace would have been very advantageous to the *English*, if it had made them Happy. But it was more fatal to them than War it self, since the insatiable Avarice of the King hurried him continually to devise Means to accumulate Riches, the
- which

which must be done at their Expence. There are Princes that gather Riches only to squander them. But *Henry* kept his Money close in his Coffers, without giving any Body a Share. Liberality was a Virtue he did not set up for. If he parted with any Thing, it was only to *Spies* or *Informers*.

As for his *Religion* and *Morals*, nothing certain can be affirmed, by Reason of the Contrarieties which occurred in him in that Respect. He was Chaste, Temperate, an Enemy to open and scandalous Vices, Constant in the Exercises of Devotion, and observing strict Justice in Matters where his Interest was not concerned. But on the other Hand, his extreme Avarice made him commit many Acts of Injustice, and the Fear of losing his Crown, caused him to look upon as lawful, all Means which could free him from that Danger, how unjust soever they might be in other Respects. The Death of the Earl of *Warwick* will be an everlasting Stain to his Memory. His making a Jest of Religion, in causing a solemn *Procession* to be made on purpose to show that Prince to the People, and the *Excommunications* he ordered to be pronounced against his own *Spies*, are clear Evidences that his Religion was not Proof against Interest.

In general, it cannot be denied that this Prince had great Abilities. But as these Abilities had no Object but himself, they would have been more valuable in a private Person than in a great Monarch. Though all his Projects were crowned with Success, his Reign cannot be said to be happy, either for himself or for *England*. He lived under continual Apprehensions and Suspicions, and his Subjects were always exposed either to domestick Troubles or Oppression. One Thing rendered this Reign remarkable, namely, that by *Henry's* Abilities, the Civil Wars, which had so long afflicted *England*, were at length happily ended. I say happily, since it was much the same Thing with respect to the Welfare of the *English*, whether the Kingdom was governed by a

1509. Prince of the *House of Lancaster*, or a Prince of the *House of York*,

Henry VII was of a serious and thoughtful Temper, always mindful of his Affairs, without being ever taken off by his Pleasures, to which he was little addicted. He had a Book wherein he marked down with his own Hand, the Qualities and Characters of the Persons he knew, that he might employ them accordingly upon Occasion. A Monkey * that he kept in his Chamber, having one Day tore this *Note-Book* all to Pieces, he appeared grieved as at some very great Loss.

He was somewhat taller than the common sort of Men. Of a long, thin and meagre Visage like the rest of his Body, of a grave Countenance, which made People speak to him with Fear. He could however be affable when his Affairs required it. He was rather Studious than Learned. What he read in his leisure-Hours was generally in *French*, though he understood *Latin* too.

He founded a Chapel at *Windsor*, for which he obtained of the Pope Privileges and Immunities. He turned into an Hospital the Palace of the *Savoy*, built [by *Peter* Earl of *Savoy*] in the Reign of *Henry III*. He founded likewise several Convents of *Dominicans* and *Franciscans*. But of all his Structures, That which did and still does him the greatest Honour, is his Chapel in *Westminster-Abbey*, which gives not Place in any Thing to the most stately Chapels in Christendom. There he was buried, and there the Bodies of his Successors are reposed with his *1.

* Set on, as it was thought, by one of his Chamberlains. *Baron.*

*1. The Authority of the *Star-Chamber*, which (as my Lord *Verulam* says,) before subsisted by the antient *Common Laws*, was confirmed in certain Cases by *Act of Parliament*. This Court consisted of *Councillors*, *Peers*, *Prelates*, and *Judges*, and in Causes *Criminal*, the Council used to sit in the Chamber called the *Star-Chamber*; in *Civil*, in the *White-Chamber* or *White-Hall*. Amongst others the following Laws were enacted. Any Person under the Degree of a Lord, conspiring the Death of a *Privy-Counsellor* or *Peer*, should be put to Death. Poor *Suitors* should be admitted

nitted in *Forma Pauperis*, without paying Fee to *Counsellor* or *Usormey*. Murderers were to be burnt in the Brawn of the Left-land, with the Letter M. and Thieves with the Letter T. So that if they offended a second Time, they should be put to Death, and this to reach to *Clerk's* Convict. In his fifth Year it was ordained, That the *Mayers* of *London* should have Conservation of the River *Thames*, from *Stanes-Bridge* to the Waters of *Ten/dale* and *Medway*. In his 18th Year, King *Henry* being himself a Brother of the *Taylor's* Company, as several Kings had been before him, namely, *Richard III.*, *Edward IV.*, *Henry IV.*, *V.*, *VI.*, and *Richard II.* Besides Dukes 11, Earls 28, Lords 48, he gave them the Name of *Merchant-Tailors*. The same Year, the Chapel of our *Lady* above the East-Side of the High-Altar at *Westminster-Church*, with a Tavern called the *White-Rose* near adjoining, was taken down, and *Henry* the Seventh's famous Chapel was built in their Place, which as *Stow* says, cost fourteen Thousand Pound. In his second Year, *Cheap-Side* Conduit was built by Alderman *Ham*, which was taken down this Year 1728. In this Reign *John Colles*, Dean of *St. Paul's*, founded *Paul's-School* in the Church-Yard. In his tenth Year the Body of *Alice Hackney* is said to be found whole of Skin, and the Joynts of the Arms pliable, after having been buried 175 Years. The Colleges founded in this Reign were, *Christ's College* and *St. John's* in *Cambridge*, by *Margaret* Countess of *Richmond* the King's Mother. *Jesus College* in the same University by *John Alcock* Bishop of *Ely*. *Corpus Christi* in *Oxford* by *Richard Fox* Bishop of *Winchester*, and *Brasen-Nose* College by *William Smith* Bishop of *Lincoln*.

The End of the Reign of H E N R Y VII.



The



The STATE of the CHURCH of the XVth Century.

State of
the Affairs
of the
Church in
the xvth
Century.



THE Christian Church had never been in so deplorable a Condition as in the xvth Century. The Justice and Mercy of God, and the meritorious Death of Christ were scarce any longer the Object of a Christian Faith. But the far greatest Part of the People's Religion was made to consist in Pilgrimages, and the worshipping of the blessed Virgin, Saints, and Relicks. As for the Clergy, they made it their whole Business to support themselves in that Height of Grandeur and Power they had attained to several Centuries since, and to see that no Man presumed to offer to dispute their Immunities. Church-Discipline was never more Remiss. One would have thought that the Clergy looked upon their Spiritual Power and Jurisdiction but only as a Rampart to secure their Temporal Privileges. Provided their Rights were untouched, every one might do what seemed good in his own Eyes. The Authority of the Church was become the main Point of Religion.

The Papal Power had increased exceedingly every Century, each Pope having endeavoured to enlarge it as much as possible. They were come at length to dispose of all the Church-Preferments in Christendom, and to be the supreme Judges in all Causes Ecclesiastical. National Synods were quite out of Doors, And indeed, what use would they have been of, since the Court

Court of *Rome* claimed the *Cognizance* of all *Church-Matters*? In a Word, the Pope was become the *Centre* of Religion, to which every Thing must needs tend. The Privileges of particular *Churches*, the *Prerogatives* of Sovereigns, were all annulled by the *Non obstante-Clause*, which was usually inserted in every *Bull*. But it was not only over *Spirituals* that the Popes had stretched their Authority : They pretended moreover to extend it over *Temporals*, under colour that no Case could happen but wherein *Religion* was concerned. Kings themselves were not out of their Reach. In all the Marriages of Princes there was occasion for the Pope's *Dispensation* : Neither Peace nor Truce of any Moment was concluded without the Pope being *Mediator* or *Guarantee*. Some Popes were seen to carry their Pretensions so far, as to enjoin *Peaces* or *Truces* without the Consent of the Parties concerned. In short, it is extremely probable that they would have wholly engrossed the *Temporal* Power as well as the *Spiritual*, if the *Schisms* of the XVth Century had not caused them to lose a great deal of Ground. The *Revolutions* of the following Century made them lose still more. Be that as it will, the Popes were become *real* Sovereigns, not only with respect to the Power they had grasped, but likewise with regard to the immense Riches which through numberless *Channels* flowed into the vast Ocean of the *Apostolick Chamber*. Tents, First-Fruits, Taxes for the Use of *the Chamber*, Dispensations for all sorts of Matters, as well repugnant to the Law of God, as contrary to the *Canons* of the *Church*. *Subsidies* exacted every now and then from the *Clergy*, for the Occasions of the *Holy See*. *Crusadoes*, Benefices which were seldom bestowed without a previous Bargain with the *Apostolick Chamber* : In a word, *Simony* openly practised by many Popes, some of whom were accused and convicted, were inexhaustible Fountains from whence flowed the Riches and Luxury of the Court of *Rome*. It was next door to impossible, that Purity of Life and of true religious Principles should

should keep itself *unspotted* amidst so much Grandeur and Affluence. On the contrary, the Popes were so much the more liable to make an ill use of their Power, as the Generality of them were not born for so high a Station. Accordingly we find in History that *Rome* and *Avignon* were the Centre of Pride, Avarice, Luxury, Sensuality, and of all the most scandalous Vices. The Popes were neither *Learned* nor *Religious*. Hardly was there one to be found that might pass for an honest Man, even according to the Maxims of the World. And yet all the Preambles of their *Bulls* were stuffed with Expressions of their *Zeal*, their *Charity*, their *Humility*, their *Justice*: whilst for the most Part what they enjoined was an authentick Proof of their *Pride* and *Tyranny*. I do not in the least aggravate Matters. The Authors which wrote before the *Reformation* have said a hundred Times more. And the same has been even publicly preached before the *Councils*.

We may easily imagine that such kind of Popes did not take much care to fill what they call the *Sacred College*, with Persons truly pious and religious. It is true indeed, during this *Century* there were *Cardinals* of great Fame, and eminent for their Wit, their Eloquence, their political Virtues, and their Capacity for temporal Affairs. But they were for the most Part worldly-minded Men, who considered Religion but as a Means to make their Fortune. The *Legates* which were sent to the several States of *Christendom* were so many *Incendiaries*, who made it their Business to sow Discord and Division among Princes, or to spur them on to shed the Blood of their own Subjects. In a word, they minded nothing but the Interest of their Master and the *Roman See*, making no Conscience to break through all the Rules of Religion and Equity, in order to compass their Ends.

The rest of the *Clergy* in general were no better. Most of the Bishops were promoted to the *Episcopacy* purely for having shown themselves Sticklers for the Court

Court of *Rome*, or been of Service to Princes in their temporal Concerns. They were Persons brought up at Court, and instructed in the Maxims of the World. Cruelty, Injustice, Dishonesty, were but too common among them. These were even deemed as so many Virtues, when employed in the Persecution of such as they termed *Hereticks*, especially of such as dared to question any of the Pope's or the *Clergy's* pretended Rights.

As for real Learning, it was scarce so much as heard of in this *Century*. *School-Divinity* and Skill in the *Canon-Law* were all the *Ecclesiasticks* valued themselves upon. It was the only Road by which they could hope to arrive at *Church-Dignities*. On the other Hand, the *Monks*, who had crept into most of the *Professorships* in the *Universities*, had over-run *Divinity* and *Philosophy* with such a heap of *Jargon*, as served only to give their Disciples false Notions of *Learning*, and to teach them to wrangle.

Such was in general the State of the *Church* in the *Century* we are speaking of. As for the *Civil Affairs* of *Europe*, they were in this *Century* just as they were before, and have been since. The Sovereigns divided among themselves on the Score of their different Interests, thought only how to supplant one another, and to make their Neighbour's Loss turn to their own Gain. This drew them into bloody Wars, which rendered their People miserable, and suffered neither Princes nor Subjects to mind the Breaches in the *Church*, or to think of the Means to heal them. Corruption was got to such a Height in *Civil States* as well as in the *Church*, that God seemed to have abandoned Men to a *reprobate Sense*, so blind and insensible were they grown. We may add for the further Representation of the sad Estate of the *Church*, the great Progress of the *Turks* in *Europe*, during this unfortunate *Century*. The *Greek Empire* entirely destroyed, and several other *Christian States* over-run by the *Infidels*, were plain Tokens enough of the Wrath of Heaven against *Christians*, to move them to search

after the Cause. But instead of *seeking the Lord*, they persecuted with Fire and Sword such as sought God alone, and refused to pay divine Worship to *Creatures*.

To bring about a Reformation in the *Church* which stood in so great Need of it, all, or at least the chief Princes of *Europe* should have joined their Endeavours in helping forward such a Design. But how was it possible that so many Sovereigns who had *Religion* so little at Heart, should be able to sacrifice their private Passions to so great a Good? Or how could so many different Interests be made to agree? All *Europe* passionately wished that the *Church* might be reformed. Several Bishops seemed to desire the same. Nothing was talked of in the *Councils* but the Necessity of going through with so noble a Work. One would have even thought that the *Councils* of *Constance* and *Basil* intended to labour at it to some purpose. But the well-affected had neither Prudence nor Resolution enough to withstand the Artifices and Violence of the opposite Party. We shall see in the Sequel, that it was the *Popes*, the *Cardinals*, and the chief of the *Clergy* who opposed with all their Might the Reformation intended, because they were very sensible that it would prove prejudicial to their *Temporal* Concerns. On the other Hand, when a Man considers with what Eagerness and Animosity they laboured to root out the pretended *Heresies*, which combated the worldly Grandeur of the *Clergy*, he can make no other Inference from thence, but that they themselves perceived the Necessity of a Reformation which they would not admit, and that the Fountain of the *Corruption* was in the Heads of the *Church*, from whence it had but too great an Influence upon the Inferior *Clergy*.

To represent to the Life the State of the *Church* of the XVth Century, and to set it in its true Light, it would be necessary to give a particular Account of what passed at the *Councils* of *Constance* and *Basil*. But this Account would lead me too far. Besides, the
History

History of the first of these *Councils* is lately published, and is writ with that Plainness, Circumspection and Impartiality, that there is no room to suspect that the Author (a) has suffered himself to be biassed by Passion or Prejudice. The History of the *Council of Basil* by the same Hand is soon to come out. So that referring the Reader to these two Histories, I shall only relate in a few words the most remarkable Passages of these *Councils*. The Knowledge of which will be of use to understand the *State* of the *Church of England*, which I shall speak of presently.

The *Schism* which was begun in 1378 by *Urban VI.* and *Clement VII.* was kept on foot in the Beginning of the XVth Century, by *Boniface IX.* and *Benedict XIII.* their Successors. *Boniface* having succeeded *Urban VI.* resided at *Rome*, and *Benedict*, Successor of *Clement VII.* held his *See* at *Avignon*, where the King of *France* kept him in Custody, for fear he should get away before the *Schism* was ended.

The *University* of *Paris* had proposed a Method to put an End to the *Schism*, namely, that the two Popes should resign the *Pontificate*, the which was called the *Method of Cession*. *Boniface IX.* and *Benedict XIII.* feigned both to be willing to agree to this Method for the Sake of restoring Peace to the *Church*. But at the same time they used so many Shifts and Evasions, that it was easy to see they had no mind to it at all. And therefore the King of *France* had thought fit to secure the Person of *Benedict*. This Monarch's Illness afterwards having placed the Duke of *Orleans* his Brother at the Head of Affairs, the young Prince, was a great Favourer of *Benedict XIII.* and in 1404, gave him an Opportunity to make his Escape. This same Year *Boniface IX.* died, and the *Cardinals* of his Party chose *Innocent VII.* who behaved just as his Predecessor had done in the Business of the *Cession*. To *Innocent*, who sat in the *Papal Chair* but two Years, succeeded *Angelo Corario*, who took the Name

A brief
Account of
the Coun-
cil of
Constance

(a) Mr. L'enfant Minister at Berlin.

of Gregory XII. Thus the *Schism* continued still between Gregory and Benedict. These two Popes pretending to desire to end it by the Method of *Cession*, amused the World along while with their *Disimulation* and *Artifices*. In short, the *Schism* having now lasted thirty Years, and there being no appearance that the two Popes would keep their word, Gregory XII. saw himself deserted on a sudden by his *Cardinals*, who retired to *Pisa*. There remained but Four with him. On the other side, *France*, which was the principal Stay of Benedict XIII. being tired with his *Evasions*, withdrew from his Obedience, and the Pope having lost that Support, went and resided in *Spain*. But his *Cardinals* refusing to follow him, chose to go and join Gregory's. Presently after, the *Cardinals* of both Parties, with one consent, called a *General Council* at *Pisa*, to which most of the Princes of *Europe* sent their *Ambassadors* and *Prelates*.

This Council, which was held in 1409, deposed the two Popes, and gave the *Cardinal* leave to chuse a new one, who assumed the Name of *Alexander V.* But as Gregory and Benedict did not think themselves lawfully deposed, it happened that instead of Two there were now Three Popes summoned.

Alexander V dying 1410, John XXIII. was elected in his room, who called a *General Council* to meet at *Constance* in November 1414*. This Council found no better way to end the *Schism*, than by turning out the three Popes. John XXIII. and Benedict XIII. were deposed, and Gregory XII. voluntarily resigned the *Pontificate*. Whereupon the Council elected Cardinal *Odo Colonna*, who took the Name of *Martin V.* John XXIII, who had been committed to the Custody of the

* The Deputies to this Council from *England* were first the Bishops of *Salisbury*, *Bath* and *Hereford*, the Abbot of *Westminster*, and Prior of *Worcester*. But upon the Death of the Bishops of *Salisbury* and *Hereford*, the *English* Prelates understanding that other Churches were represented by a more numerous Delegation, sent Clifford Bishop of *London*, the Chancellors of both Universities, with Twelve Doctors, to this Council. *Walsing.* p. 387.

the Emperour *Sigismund*, having made his Escape, came and submitted to *Martin V.* who honoured him with a Cardinalship. As for *Benedict XII.* he still kept the Title of *Pope*, and retiring to the Castle of *Peniscola*, belonging to the Kingdom of *Valencia*, he was suffered by the King of *Aragon* to live there in quiet. After his Death, which fell not out till 1424, his Cardinals chose a Canon of *Barcelona*, who took the Name of *Clement VIII.* But in 1429 he quitted his Dignity in favour of *Martin V.* Thus ended the Schism at length, after having lasted One and Fifty Years.

This Abstract, as short as it is, will enable us to guess at the Character of the *Popes*, who were at the Head of the Church during these fifty Years. They were Men who sacrificed the Peace and Quiet of the Church to their own private Interests, and damned without Mercy, as far as lay in their Power, all that were not of their Party. They would without scruple have involved all *Christendom* in a bloody War upon their Score, if the Sovereign Princes had not been wiser than themselves. Surely a Man cannot but form to himself a very melancholly Idea of the State of the Church of those Days, when he considers that the *Christians* of both Sides acknowledged for *Christ's Vicars*, *Popes* whom they detested and abhorred, and who indeed were so little worthy of the Station they enjoyed, that several of them were deposed for *Heresy*, *Simony*, and *Perjury*.

But I have one important Reflection more to make upon the Procedure of the Council of *Constance*, the Motive whereof is at first Sight hard to be conceived. If the Council of *Pisa* was General and Lawful, as that of *Constance* could not help owning, why were her Decisions not observed? Why was *Gregory XII's* Resignation accepted, a Resignation which supposed that he was still Pope in spite of his having been deposed? Why were there any Terms offered him to induce him to quit the Pontificate? Why was *Benedict XII.* deposed over again, when he had been deposed

posed by a *General Council* ? In short, why was *John XXIII* deprived of his Dignity, for not keeping his Promise to resign the *Papacy*, since it could not be questioned but that he was really *Pope* and his *Mission* Good ? Did not these Proceedings destroy the Authority of the *Council of Pisa* ?

Let it not be objected that *John XXIII* was not deposed for any Flaw in his *Mission*, but on the score of his Crimes. It is certain that when he was required to promise to resign the *Pontificate*, it was solely with a View to put an End to the *Schism*. Had he resigned with a good Grace, he would never have been accused of, much less condemned for the Crimes which he was deposed for afterwards. It will be said perhaps that this Inconvenience was not so great as that of keeping up the *Schism*. But should the striking at the Authority of a *General Council* be deemed a slight Inconvenience ? Did not the *Council of Constance* give a Handle to have her own Authority disputed ? And indeed there is no Reason why the deposing of *Benedict XIII*, and of *John XXIII* by the *Council of Constance* should be more valid than the deposing of the same *Benedict XIII* and *Gregory XII*, by the *Council of Pisa*.

But however as mysterious as it appears to be, one discovers a little the Reason of the Proceedings of the *Council of Constance*. The *Schisms* manifestly tended to the Dissolution of the *Papal Dignity*, which served for Basis and Foundation to most of the *Clergy's* Privileges, and to the *Hierarchy* it self. *Castile*, *Arragon*, *Navarre*, *Portugal*, had stood Neuter some Years, without owning any of the contending Popes. *France* had withdrawn her Obedience from *Benedict XIII*, without transferring it to *Gregory XII*. In a Word, the whole World in general began to contemn their *Excommunications* which they so visibly abused. There was Danger therefore that People would learn by Degrees to do without a *Pope*. By which Means the Foundation of the *Hierarchy* would have been undermined, and perhaps a new Form of Government introduced

troduced into the Church. The Cardinals and Prelates of whom the Council of Constance was composed, were so highly concerned to avoid this Inconvenience, that it is no Wonder they should sacrifice All to attain their Ends. This is the true Reason of their Conduct. But they took Care to proceed in a very different Manner with regard to the pretended *Hereticks*, who openly called the Clergy's Privileges into Question. In order to root out a *Heresy* so prejudicial to them, they made use of Fire and Sword, rather than recede from the least of their Interests. This is what we are going to see in the Manner they went to work in this Respect.

All the World knows that *John Huss* and *Jerome of Prague* were burnt alive at Constance. But every Body has not been at the Pains to examine for what *Errours* they suffered that rigorous Punishment. They were *Then*, and still are to this Day charged with having maintained *Impious*, *Horrible*, and *Damnable* Tenets. They were condemned as *Seditious*, *Obstinate*, and *Incorrigible* Followers and Defenders of *Wickliff*, *Hardened*, *Crafty*, *Malicious*, and *Convicted* *Hereticks*. Had there been any stronger Terms to express their Horror for these *Heresies*, they would have made no Scruple to use them. But after all, wherein consisted these *Heresies*? In their being Followers of *Wickliff*. If you consult the Authors who speak of their Sentence, you'll scarce find one which says more than that *John Huss*, and *Jerome of Prague* were Followers of *Wickliff*, and consequently abominable Wretches, deserving to be condemned to the Flames. In the Opinions of *Wickliff* then we are to search for their *Errours*. Now herein is a double Meaning, which has been constantly made use of to justify the Sentence of these two Doctors. It is hardly to be questioned but that the Council of Constance had that same double Meaning in View, when she caused the *Errours* and Memory of *Wickliff* to be stigmatized first, before *John Huss* and *Jerome of Prague* were brought upon their Trial.

Wickliff's

Wickliff's Opinions were of two Kinds. The one concerned the main Doctrines of Faith. The other related to the *Hierarchy*, the *Clergy*, their Jurisdiction, Power, and Riches. *Wickliff* did not believe *Transubstantiation*. He rejected the Invocation of *Saints*, the Adoration of the *Cross* and *Images*, *Pilgrimages*, and *Relics*. On the other Hand, he thought that the *Hierarchy* had no Foundation in *Scripture*. From whence he drew several Conclusions against the excessive Authority which the *Popes*, the *Cardinals*, the *Bishops* had usurped. Moreover he taxed the *Clergy* with leading very immoral and dissolute Lives, and maintained that the Revenues of the *Church* were exceedingly misused. From these Principles his Enemies inferred numberless Consequences, some whereof had never entered into his Thoughts. In a Word, they came to find in his Writings two hundred and sixty Capital *Errours*. His Followers added a great many more which he had never taught, and the whole Sum was imputed to him, as if he had maintained them all in express Terms.

Be that as it will, *John Huss* embraced *Wickliff's* Opinions, but it was only in what concerned the *Hierarchy* and *Clergy*. It is certain he believed *Transubstantiation*, and died in that Belief. As for *Images*, his Opinion was that a Man might honour them, kneel to them, light up *Wax-Tapers* before them, kiss them, because the Mind referred that Worship to the *Originals*. So that it is a Thing past Dispute, that he was not burnt for maintaining *Errours* in the main Doctrines of Faith, but for Opinions which combated the exorbitant Power and Riches of the *Church*, that is to say, of the *Clergy*. All possible Endeavours were used to make him deny *Transubstantiation*. But he could never be brought to that. And yet by the Advice of the Cardinal of *Florence*, the Council condemned him upon the Deposition of the Witnesses that accused him of rejecting that *Doctrine*, without having any Regard to his own express Declaration to the contrary. It is no hard Matter to conceive the Coun-
cil's

al's Drift, in causing that Article to be inserted in *Huss's Sentence*. The Council was very sensible that it must needs have appeared very strange; that a Person should be condemned to be burnt, whose Principles tended to a Reformation, as well in the *Head* as in the *Members* of the Church, which all *Christendom* required, and which the Council it self feigned to believe necessary. It was requisite therefore to justify the *Sentence*, by rendering this Man odious, as one that rejected a fundamental Article of *Faith*. For this Reason, without distinguishing *Wickliff's* Errours, *John Huss* and *Jerome of Prague* were condemned as Followers of that *Arch-Heretic*. Whereby it was intimated that they embraced all the Opinions of their Master.

But to make appear, by a Testimony beyond all Exception, that these two Men were burnt for their Notions concerning the Clergy, I need only quote what *Aeneas Sylvius*, alias Pope Pius II, says in his History of *Bohemia*. The Deputies of the Council having admonished the Parties accused to forsake their *Errours*, and conform to the Church's Sentiments, they made Answer, That they were indeed Lovers of the Holy Gospel, and true Disciples of Christ : That the Church of Rome, and all the other Churches in the World were far gone from the Apostolical Traditions : That the Clergy ran after Pleasures and Riches : That they lorded it over the People, affected the highest Seats at Entertainments, and bred Horses and Dogs. That the Revenues of the Church, which belonged to the poor Members of Christ, were consumed in Vanity and Wantonness. That the Priests were ignorant of the Commandments of God, or if they did know them, they lightly regarded them.

The Fathers of the Council, continues the Historian, perceiving and knowing the invincible Obstinacy of these People, judged that the corrupted Members of the Church that were incurable, ought to be cut off, lest they should infect the rest of the Body. Accordingly Sentence was passed upon them, all the Fathers unanimously agreeing that Per-

sons who rejected sound Doctrine, approved of by the Church, deserved to be burnt.

Hence it is evident to a Demonstration, wherein consisted the *Heresy* of *John Huss* and of *Jerome of Prague*, viz. in their accusing the *Clergy* of being corrupted. It was then in order to destroy these Enemies of the *Clergy*, that the *Council* made no scruple to violate the *Safe-conduct* the Emperour *Sigismund* had given *John Huss*, or at least to allow that he should violate it himself. Moreover the *Council* had no regard to the Promise they had publicly given to *Jerome of Prague*, in order to draw him to *Constance*. It is true indeed the *Council* had inserted these Words in their Engagement, *Without Prejudice to Justice, and as far as the Catholick Faith requires it, a captious Clause* if ever there was one. For was not the *Catholick Faith* the very Point in question; and of what use could the *Council's* Promise be to *Jerome of Prague*, unless against *Justice*? Did he run any Risk, or stand in need of a Promise of Safety, if he had not held the Tenets he was charged with?

Let us proceed now to the Decree of this *Council*, against *Communion in both Kinds*. We shall see in this Point, as well as in the foregoing, that the Authority of the *Church* or of the *Clergy*, was at the Bottom of the Matter. The Fathers of *Constance* condemned not *Communion* in both Kinds as sinful in it self. On the contrary, they owned that it had been the Custom of the primitive *Church*, and that the *Church* had Power to grant it to the *Laiety*, if she thought it proper. But they pronounced *Anathema* against such as maintained that the *Church* had not a Right to abolish this Practice. What did they mean then by the *Church*? Did they not mean the *Councils* composed of the several Members of the *Clergy*? It is so true that in this Decree the *Council's* sole View was to support the Authority of the *Church Representative*, that some Years after another General *Council* made no scruple to allow the *Hussites* the Liberty of communicating in *both Kinds*, without any apprehension

hension that the *Faith* would be affected by it, as soon as they were willing to receive that Liberty as a Favour from the *Church*.

As to other Opinions which appeared at the same Time, but which struck not at the *Clergy*, the Council of *Constance* behaved with an astonishing Coldness. *John Petit*, Advocate of the Duke of *Burgundy* had maintained that it was lawful for any private Person to kill a Tyrant, even by Surprise. This Tenet being brought before the *Council*, what was done in the Matter? After abundance of Sollicitations, they declared it *Erroneous*, without naming the Author, or coming upon his Person, though they had ordered *Wickliff's* Bones to be dug up thirty Years after he was buried. The *Seet* of the *Scourgers* broached several erroneous Doctrines. But the *Council* was content with proposing that a Way should be found out to bring them back by fair Means to the Unity of the *Church*.

What Reformation could be expected from a *Council* which prosecuted so rigorously such as called in question the Privileges of the *Pope*, the *Cardinals* and the *Clergy*? The Reformation must have begun with lopping off the chief Branches of these Prerogatives. Indeed before *Martin V's* Election, the reforming the Court of *Rome* was talked of in the *Council*; and a List of the Abuses which were to be redressed, was drawn up. But by the Artifices of some, and especially of the *Cardinals*, this noble Design came to nothing. A *Pope* was elected, and the *Pope* elect found Means to get this Matter put off to a more convenient Season.

This is the Sum of the most remarkable Transactions of the *Council* of *Constance*. You will find these and the rest of the Facts set out in all their Circumstances in the new History which I mentioned above, and to which I refer the Reader. Let us see now what the Council of *Basil* did with respect to the *Hussites*, and the Quarrel of *Pope Eugenius IV.*, with the

same Council. Nothing is more proper to show the State of the Church of those Days.

History of
the Coun-
cil of Basil.

The *Bohemians*, who, for the most Part had embraced the Opinions of *John Huss*, highly resented the Usage he had met with. This Severity serving only to confirm them in their Tenets, they resolved to maintain them in spite of the Council's Decrees. Communion in both Kinds was the principal Point they insisted upon. This occasioned terrible Commotions in *Bohemia*, which *Martin V.* greatly inflamed by his haughty Treatment of the *Hussites*. *Wenceslaus* King of *Bohemia* dying in the mean while, *Sigismund* his Brother, who was Emperour, pretended to the Succession. But the *Bohemians* refused him, because he would not consent that they should live in the Faith they professed. *Martin V.* siding with *Sigismund*, published a *Crusado* against the *Hussites*, and by that means put them under a Necessity to stand upon their own Defence. It is needless to enquire here whether *Sigismund* had any Right to mount the Throne of *Bohemia* without the Consent of the States. This is a Query which would lead me too far. Be that as it will, a *Bohemian* Gentleman, named *Ziska*, having headed the *Hussites*, defeated *Sigismund* several Times, and made him as well as the Pope despair of rooting out these pretended *Hereticks* by Force of Arms. This War lasted till the Council of *Basil*, without *Sigismund's* being able to take peaceable Possession of the Kingdom of *Bohemia*.

The Council of *Basil*, which met in 1431, finding that the Arms of *Sigismund* and the *Croises* prospered not as was expected, resolved to make Peace with the *Hussites*. In all probability their Aim was to set *Sigismund* on the Throne of *Bohemia* at any rate, that he might by that means be the better able to take proper Measures to extirpate these People. To this purpose, they sent Deputies to *Bohemia*, to invite the *Hussites* to come and lay their Reasons before the Council. They agreed to it, and their Deputies being arrived
at

at *Basil*, demanded these Four Things, for which they offered to be reconciled to the *Church*.

First, That Communion in both Kinds should be administred to the *Bobemian Laity*.

Secondly, That Offenders should be punished according to the Law of God, and by those whose proper Business it was.

Thirdly, That the Word of God should be preached by able Priests.

Fourthly, That the *Clergy* should have no Temporal Jurisdiction.

These were the Sentiments of the *Hussites*, on the Score of which so bloody a War had been made upon them, even to the stirring up all *Europe* against them. But it was not so much on account of their *Doctrines* that they were thus cruelly persecuted, but by reason of their obstinate Refusal to submit to the Decisions of the *Church*, and the Contempt they showed for the *Clergy*. The *Council* used all possible Endeavours to bring the *Bobemian* Deputies to submit to the *Church* without Terms. But in short, perceiving that they firmly stuck to the Four Articles, the *Council* thought fit to grant them upon Condition, that they should be first explained, because their being couched in general Words might give Occasion to fresh Disputes. The *Hussites* consenting to it, the *Council* explained the Four Articles as they judged convenient. Which done, an Agreement was drawn up conformable to the Four Articles and the Explanation they had made.

This Affair being thus settled, *Sigismund* demanded to be received for King of *Bobemia*, and was so accordingly, after signing certain Conditions, namely, the Approbation of the Agreement, and some other Things relating thereto. One would have thought that the Persecution against the *Hussites* had been at an End. But *Sigismund* was no sooner on the Throne of *Bobemia*, but he broke his Word with them. On
the

the other Hand, the Pope pretending that they kept not the Conditions on which the Four Articles were granted, positively refused to approve of the Agreement. This occasioned in *Bohemia* fresh Troubles, which were all along fomented by the Court of *Rome*, and which properly ended not till the Middle of the last Century, in the utter Ruin of the *Hussites*.

Before we leave this Subject, let us make one Remark upon it. Let the *Hussites* be inveighed against as much as you please: Let them be accused of holding impious and detestable Errours, yet after all, these same Errours must be reduced to the Four Articles which they themselves exhibited to the Council of *Basil*. On account of these, *Crusades* were published against them, and *John Hus*, and *Jerom of Prague* were burnt. But a General Council, owned by all the World as such, at the time when the Agreement was granted them, judged that these Articles might be suffered without detriment to the *Catholic Faith*. It follows therefore, that War was made upon them purely for the sake of maintaining the Church's Authority. That was the main Point of Religion. But for what Reason were they persecuted afterwards? It was because the Popes would never stand to the Agreement, tho' the *Hussites* frequently offered to submit to the Church upon that Condition. It is evident then that the War from the Beginning to the End was wholly founded upon this Principle, that the Church has a despotick Power, and that it is unlawful to bind her to any Conditions. But what Church is this that is invested with so high a Prerogative? It cannot be a General Council, since such a Council has not judged that Point unquestionable. It is therefore the Pope alone which must be meant by the Church. It will be said perhaps that the Authority of the Council of *Basil* is not acknowledged by a great Part of the Church: but this will be without Ground. For the Truth is, the Agreement with the *Hussites* was made before the Council was removed to *Perrana*, and that of *Basil* is owned

owned by all the World for lawful before that removal.

We are now going to see a Quarrel of another Nature, not of the *Church* with her *heretical* Enemies, but of the *Church* with Herself, of the *Members* with the *Head*. Till the *Council* of *Basil*, the *Popes* and the *Councils* had agreed pretty well to improve the *Church's* Authority, and cause it to be absolutely obeyed. By the Help of the *equivocal* Word *Church*, an entire Submission was required of *Christians*, sometimes to the *Pope* as the *Head*, sometimes to the *Councils* as *Representatives* of the *Body*, according as an Opportunity offered to make the best of that *Term*, for the Benefit of the one or the other. As for the *Christian Laity*, they had been reckoned long ago to have no share in the Meaning of the Word *Church*. But however, though in confining the Signification of the Word *Church* to the *Clergy* alone, there still remained some Ambiguity, it had not yet entered into any one's Head to remove it by deciding whether the Authority of the *Church* was lodged in the *Body* of the *Clergy*, or in the *Pope* as *Head*. The *Councils* of *Pisa* and *Constance* had done something towards assuming this Authority, in deposing the *Popes* themselves. But *Martin V.* after his Election, had managed it so cunningly, as to shift off the Decision of this important Point, either by breaking up the *Council*, or by confirming whatever was done with regard to the *Doctrines*, without meddling with any of the other Articles. He was very sensible that he should lie under a great Disadvantage if the Question was decided by the *Council*, as the *Council* would do the Moment they should break up. At length the *Council* of *Basil* had Occasion to bring this Point upon the Board.

The *Council* had been called by *Martin V.* who had appointed Cardinal *Julian Casarini* to preside as *Legate*. *Martin* dying in 1431, before the *Council* was assembled, *Eugenius IV.* was chosen in his room. The new *Pope* did nothing to hinder the Opening of the

the *Council*: but he intended it should not continue long. For some time past nothing was talked of but the Necessity of reforming the *Church* both in the *Head* and *Members*. Now as a Reformation of this Nature could not but be brought about by a *General Council*, such a Council could not but terrify the Pope, who had not yet had Time to taste the Sweets of the *Pontificate*. The *Council* of *Basil* was no sooner met, but *Eugenius* sought means to dissolve it. He made use of as a Handle to this the *Council's* inviting the *Hussites* to come to *Basil* during the first *Session*. He pretended that these *Hereticks* having been condemned in the *Council* of *Constance*, they ought not to be allowed a Re-hearing. Upon this frivolous Pretence he published a *Bull* for dissolving the *Council*.

Instead of submitting to the Pope's Pleasure, the *Council* resolved to continue their *Sessions*. Hence sprung a Quarrel which begot a real *Schism*. Some maintaining the Authority of the *Council*, and others standing by the *Pope*. The *Council* made several Decrees, which placed the Authority of a *General Council* above that of the Pope, and the Pope nulled these Decrees, affirming, that the Body could not act but by the Directions of the Head. The Emperour, the King of *France*, and most of the other Princes having declared immediately for the *Council*, *Eugenius* saw himself under a Necessity to approve the *Council*, and consent that it should continue. But having sent other *Legates* to preside in his Name, the *Council* refused to receive them as Presidents. This was a fresh Occasion of Quarrel. The Pope threatened to dissolve the *Council*, and the *Council* threatened to suspend the Pope. And accordingly they made some Advances that way. Whereupon *Eugenius* finding he was the weakest Side, was fain once more to approve and confirm the *Council*.

The forced Compliance of the Pope allayed the Storm for some Time. But in 1435, the *Council* having shown that they would set about in good earnest to reform the *Church* in the *Head* and *Members*, and
having

having made with that view Decrees to abolish the *First-Fruits*, and to settle the Rights of the *Apostolick Chamber*, the Pope saw he should be ruined unless he found some way to stop their Proceedings. On the other Hand, the *Cardinals* easily perceived, that since the Pope was begun with, it would not be long before their Turn came. There were some Bishops too, who were sorry to see a Reformation going forwards, which would be prejudicial to them in some Things, though they might hope to be Gainers by it in other Respects. This occasioned the *Council's* splitting into two opposite Parties; but however the Reformers had the Majority on their Side. Mean while the Pope continued to gain Ground, since the *Cardinals* and several Bishops thought it for their Interest to stand by him.

Another Thing helped likewise to set the Pope's Affairs upon a good Foot. Some time since [*John Emanuel Palaeologus*] Emperour of *Constantinople*, was briskly attacked by the *Turks*. As he had need of Succours, he had a Notion, that in case he got the *Graek Church* to be united with the *Latin*, the Pope and Princes of *Europe* would assist him with all their Forces in defence of his Empire. This Matter had been already proposed to *Martin V.*, and it was chiefly with a View to bring about this Union that Pope *Martin* had called the *Council of Basil*, to which the *Greek Emperour* was to come in Person with the Bishops of his Church. *Eugenius IV.* failed not to improve this Opportunity to strengthen his Party. He dispatched *Nuntio's* to the Emperour, to let him know that the Time was come to perform his Promise. But that, as it might be inconvenient for him and his Attendants to come so far as *Basil*, he promised to remove the *Council* to some good Town in *Italy*, provided he would give his Word to be there. On the other Hand, the *Council* sent likewise Ambassadors to *Constantinople* to dissuade the Emperour from coming to any Place but *Basil*. But the Emperour had already resolved to repair to the Town the Pope should

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pitch upon. The Fathers of *Basil* plainly perceiving that the Pope intended to remove the *Council* elsewhere, made haste and passed several Decrees which very much lessened the *Papal* Authority, and at length cited the Pope to appear before them.

Eugenius made light of the Proceedings against him at *Basil*. Upon notice that the *Greeks* were arrived at *Venice*, he published a *Bull* for the translating the *Council* of *Basil* to *Ferrara*. The *Council* refused to comply with the *Bull*, and by a Majority of Votes they suspended the Pope till he should come in Person and make his Defence. Mean while, Cardinal *Julian* President of the *Council*, and the rest of the Cardinals except one, left *Basil*, carrying away with them a good Number of Bishops, and repaired to *Ferrara*, where the Pope opened his *Council* on the 10th of *February* 1438. Thus arose a new Sort of *Schism* between two *Councils*, which Both called themselves *General*, and condemned each other. But the Pope's had soon a considerable Advantage of the other, by the Arrival of the *Greek* Emperour at *Ferrara*, with a great many Prelates of his Nation. Next Year *Eugenius* translated the *Council* to *Florence*, where a sort of Union was patched up between the *Greeks* and *Latins*, which lasted not long*.

In the mean time the *Council* of *Basil* going on with their Proceedings against *Eugenius* IV, came at last to depose him, and chuse another Pope in his room, namely, *Amedeus* Duke of *Savoy*, who having resigned the Government of his Dominions, was retired to the Solitudes of *Ripaille*. The new Pope took the Name of *Felix* V. Hence was formed in the Church a double *Schism* between two *General Councils* and two Popes.

* The Emperour in order to compass his Ends compelled the *Greek* Fathers to assent to these Four Articles: 1. That there is a Purgatory. 2. That the Pope is Head of the Church. 3. That the Holy Ghost proceeds from the Father and the Son. 4. That unleavened Bread may be used in the Eucharist. But when they came home they declaimed against the *Council*, and recanted their Subscriptions.

Popes, who thundered out their *Anathema's* against one another, to the great Scandal of Christendom. People for the most Part were at a great stand to see thus two *Popes* and two *Councils* condemning one another, and each excommunicating the Adherents of the other Party, not sparing even those who thought to be safe by standing Neuter.

Charles VII, who reigned then in *France*, caused a *Synod* to be held, in which it was resolved, that *France* should own the *Council of Basil* for lawful ; but should remain however in Obedience to Pope *Eugenius* : Another puzzling Point for the *French*. The Truth is, it is pretty hard to conceive how a Man could reconcile two such opposite Things together.

In 1441 was held in *Germany* another such Assembly, wherein no better Expedient was found than the Calling a new *Council* somewhere else than at *Basil* and *Florence*, and that *Germany* should remain Neuter till this new *Council* met. A *Diet* held at *Francfort* in 1442, approved of this Expedient, and the *Council of Basil* consented to it, though with Reluctance. But this Design met with such Obstacles that it was not put in Execution.

Mean while *Felix V* not being pleased with the *Council of Basil*, for taking so much upon them, resolved to withdraw to *Lausanne*, on pretence that *Basil-Air* did not agree with him. On the other Side, *Eugenius* translated the *Council of Florence* to *Rome*, in the Church of *St. John of Lateran*, where they began to sit in 1444.

At length in 1445 the Princes of *Germany* assembled at *Francfort*, unanimously resolved, that if *Eugenius* would not redress the Grievances they complained of, they would all recognize Pope *Felix*. *Eugenius* demurred at first. But the Emperour giving him to understand that he must comply or resolve to lose all *Germany*, he granted whatever the *Germans* desired ; whereupon an Agreement was made.

This was a terrible Blow to the Council of Basil, who had already lost *Italy*, *Aragon*, and several other States. As for *France* they could not much rely upon her, seeing she continued all along in Obedience to Pope *Eugenius*. *England* had declared likewise for that Pope, so far as that we find in the Collection of the Publick Acts, that *Henry VI* sent an Embassy to make a League with him.

Eugenius IV died whilst these Things were doing, and had for Successor *Nicholas V*.

The Council of Basil having lost a great Part of their Authority, and *Felix V* having but very few Friends, the King of *France* held a Synod at *Lyons*, in order to devise Means to put an End to the Schism. *Felix V* having sent Legates thither, it was resolved with his Consent, that if *Nicholas V* would grant him certain Conditions, he would resign the Pontificate. This was the Subject of a Negotiation which lasted the whole Year 1448. Mean while the Council of Basil finding they were forsaken by almost all the World, and despairing of being protected any longer at Basil, had taken a Resolution to remove to *Lausanne*.

In fine, *Felix* having obtained in a good Measure all that he had desired, resigned the Papal Dignity in 1449. But it was done with the Consent of his Council, who found Means to preserve still some Remains of Authority. By their last Decree, they approved of *Felix's* Resignation, created him Cardinal and Legate a latere in *Savoy* and the *Tarentaise*, and allowed him to wear the Pope's Habit all his Life. *Nicholas V* confirmed this Decree according to Agreement. Thus ended at length the Schism in which there was a Complication of three Schisms. First between *Eugenius IV* and the Council of Basil: then between two General Councils; and lastly between two Popes. One may say the first is not yet ended, since the Dispute which occasioned it, is still on Foot. The Sticklers for the Court of *Rome* declaim for ever against the Council of Basil, for decreeing that a General Council is above the

the Pope. On the other Hand, their Opposers make the Decrees of this Council, the Foundation of their Opinion. It is very likely that this Question will remain a long while undecided.

I have dwelt the longer upon what passed in the two famous Councils of *Constance* and *Basil*, because nothing in my Opinion is more proper to discover the wretched State of the Church of those Days. From the Time that the last Schism was closed, to the End of the XVth Century, the Papal-Chair was filled with Popes cruelly bent upon the Destruction of the *Hussites*, contrary to the Faith of the Agreement, or wholly taken up with asserting the exorbitant Power usurped by their Predecessors, and generally in order to have an Opportunity to satisfy their Avarice.

Calixtus III Successor of *Nicholas V* oppressed the Germans to such a Degree, that they were forced at length to break the Agreement they had made with *Eugenius IV*, plainly perceiving it was of no manner of use.

1455.
Characters of the
Popes of
the XVth
Century.

Pius II who was lately canonized, was so far from consenting to a Reformation in the Head of the Church, that he excommunicated by a Bull all Persons that should dare to appeal from the Pope to a General Council.

1458.

Paul II was no sooner chosen, but he broke the Oath he had taken before his Election, concerning the redressing certain Abuses which himself with the rest of the Cardinals, had judged necessary. Never were the *Gratia Expectativa* [or Bulls for Church-Preferments before they become void] more frequent than whilst he sat in the Papal Chair. He spent the whole Time of his Pontificate in striving to abolish the Pragmatick Sanction * in France, which debarred

1464.

* This is an *Edict*, passed in the Council of *Bourges* in the Reign of *Charles VII*, and was levelled against Papal Provisions, the Payment of *First-Fruits*, and other Incroachments of the Court of Rome. In a Word, it contains the Privileges of the Gallican-Church, and was taken out of the Acts of the Council of *Constance* and *Basil*.

red him of the Liberty of doing there whatever he pleased.

1471.

Sixtus IV raised, by one of his *Bulls*, the *Hierarchy* to the greatest Height possible; just when *Thousands* were complaining of the excessive Power the *Clergy* had usurped.

1484.

Innocent VIII picked a Quarrel with *Ferdinand of Arragon* King of *Naples*, and by his Sollicitations inclined *Charles VIII* to carry his Arms into *Italy*.

1492.

M. 62121.

Alexander VI was one of the vilest Men of his Age. This is he of whom a famous *Roman Catholick* Writer gives this fine Character, that he would have been the wickedest Man in the World, if he had not had a Bastard Son * who was more wicked than himself.

I pass over in Silence the Blood-Thirstiness of all these Popes, in persecuting the *Bobemians*, contrary to the Faith of their Agreement. The *Crusades* against the *Turks*, in which they would have engaged all the Princes of *Europe* appeared very specious. But Sovereigns were so well satisfied, that in publishing *Crusades*, the Popes had nothing in View but their own private Interest, that they could never have any Confidence in them.

Such in general was the State of the *Christian Church* in the XVth Century, upon which I shall make but one single Remark, leaving my Readers at Liberty to make as many as they please: What I would observe is, that the Abstract I have just given, makes it evident to a Demonstration, how trifling their Opinion is, who say that it is not the Business of private Persons to endeavour to reform the *Church*, but that the Work must be left to the *Church* herself. Who then is this *Church* from which we are to expect this happy Reformation? Is it all *Christians* in general, agreeing together as it were by a sudden Inspiration, to reform Abuses? Doubtless this is not what is meant by the word *Church*? Is it the Pope with his *Cardinals*? But these are the very Men who have all a-

long

* *Cesar Borgia.*

long prevented it, and very probably will do so for ever to the utmost of their Power. Shall a *General Council* take in Hand this Reformation? But what has passed hitherto in these Assemblies affords no Prospect of receiving so great a Benefit from thence. Besides, who shall call this *General Council*? Of whom shall it be composed? Who shall preside in it? Can the Pope be brought to convene a *General Council* on purpose to reform the *Church*? Will he give the Presidentship to another, that the Members may with the more Freedom reform him with his Court? In a Word, shall it be the *Pope*, the *Cardinals*, the *Prelates*, that shall determine Matters in this *Council*? But these are so many Parties concerned to leave Things just as they are.

Will it be said with some, *that the Church has no need of Reformation: That she is Innocent and Pure, without Spot or Wrinkle, or any Thing like it: That all the Prerogatives which the Popes, the Cardinals, the Bishops enjoy, belong to them by Divine Right: That the Pope exercises no Power but what Christ invested him with: That his Decisions are infallible as well in Point of Fact as of Right, and that the same Obedience must be paid to his Decrees as to those of God himself?* But if by Ill-luck it falls out, that pursuant to this Principle, the *Popes* should enlarge their *Phylacteries*, and every Day form new Claims, as it has but too frequently happened, how shall one be able to set Bounds to them, if 'tis confess'd that the *Church* has no need of Reformation, or that the Business of Reformation must be left to the *Church* herself?

After having taken a View of the State of the *Church* in general, it is Time to come to that of the *Church of England* in particular. *England*, with regard to Religion, was just in the same State with the rest of *Europe*. The People were extremely desirous of a Reformation of sundry Abuses which had crept into the *Church*. The *Clergy* were Tooth and Nail against it, because no Change could be made but to their

State of the Church of England.

their Prejudice. As for the Kings, they made Religion subservient to their Interest. When they imagined they stood in need of the Clergy, they found Ways and Means enough to evade the People's Demands. But when the Parliament's Good-Will was requisite, they assented to such Statutes as served to curb the Inroachments of the Pope and Clergy.

In the Beginning of the Century, Henry IV, whose chief View was to fix himself in the Throne, and who thought he could not do without the Clergy, affected throughout his whole Reign to be very obliging to them. Hence proceeded all those Statutes which were passed in those Days against the Lollards. Henry V showed at first great Inclination to strip the Clergy of their Riches, according to the Parliament's Desire. But afterwards having taken it into his Head to conquer France, he was very careful to avoid giving the Church cause to raise Troubles in his Kingdom. It was absolutely necessary in order to execute the grand Project he had formed, that his Subjects should be ready to assist him with their Purse. But on the other Hand, he was no less concerned to live in a good Understanding with the Court of Rome, for fear she should throw Obstacles in his Way. He knew what she was capable of when once she thought herself injured. So keeping fair both with the Pope and his own Subjects, he found Means to hinder the Pope from abusing his Power too much, without depriving him however of what he had got. By this prudent Management, he made his Reign peaceable with respect to Religion. We must except however what he did in the Beginning against the Lollards. He had suffered himself to be prepossessed, that they had conspired against his Life, and that Notion made him at first a little severe. But as he was endowed with an excellent Judgment, he soon came to discern the Interest of the Clergy from those of Religion, and put a stop to the Proceedings against these unhappy People. Henry VI was a weak Man, ever ready to receive the Impressions they were pleased to give him.

Had

Had he held the Reins of the Government himself, it very probable the *Clergy* would have gained a great deal of Ground in his Reign. But they that had the Management of Affairs, as well during his *Minority*, as after, were Men of quite another Character. Besides the *French War*, the Disturbances at Court after the King's Marriage, and the Civil Wars which quickly followed, gave those at the Helm no Time to think much of Religious Affairs. For the same Reason, the Reign of *Edward IV* was not disturbed either by the *Lollards* or their Adversaries. It is true *Edward* showed a great Condescension for the *Clergy*, in granting them a Favour which the former Kings had constantly denied them. Nevertheless his Complaisance did not go so far as to indulge Persecution. The Reigns of *Edward V* and of *Richard III* were wholly spent in domestick Troubles, which had no manner of Influence upon the Affairs of the *Church*. As for *Henry VII* he laid it down as a Rule to keep the *Church* upon the same Foot he found it when he mounted the Throne. He avoided as a Rock, all Innovations which might have obstructed the Execution of his two main Designs, namely, to secure the Crown to himself and his Heirs, and to heap up Money. Such was, with regard to Religion, the Disposition of the Kings that reigned in *England* during the *Fifteenth Century*.

As for the *English Nation*, 'tis certain it was generally *Wickliffite* in some Respects. *Wickliff's* Opinions tended manifestly to these two main Ends. First, to reform the Government of the *Church*, and to set Bounds to the Power of the *Pope* and *Clergy*. Secondly, to alter the *Church's Creed* as to certain *Doctrines* long since received, and which he thought contrary to *Scripture*. Now as he perceived that it was next Door to impossible that *Christians* should be brought back to what he believed to be the antient *Faith* of the *Church*, because the *Clergy* were concerned to maintain the established *Errours*, he insisted stoutly upon the first Point, as being absolutely necessary in

order to be able to attain to the Second. It is certain, that in respect to the general Aim he proposed to himself in the first of these Points, not only his professed Followers, but all the rest of the People did as it were join with him. For many Ages the *English* had felt the Oppression which the Pope and Clergy had kept them under. In all Christendom there was no People that had experienced more the Rigour of the Church's Dominion. The History of *England* makes this appear so visibly, that a Man must have been blind not to see it. But granting that History has carried Matters too far in this Respect, the *Statutes* of *Provisors* and *Præmunire* so frequently revived, leave no room to question but that the *English* thought themselves oppressed. Wherefore one may say that in general the People of *England* were *Wickliffites* as to the first Point, though many believed that *Wickliff* had a Mind to carry the Reformation a little too far, and that in order to correct the Abuses of the *Hierarchy*, he had run into the other Extreme. But the Nation was not generally *Wickliffite* with respect to the second Point, namely, the Alteration of certain Articles of Belief. It is true, *Wickliff* had in this Respect abundance of Followers, but they were not the Majority. Thus the Name of *Wickliffite* or *Lollard* was an *equivocal* Term capable of being understood in two different Senses. Sometimes it signifies a Man who separating from the Church, embraced all *Wickliff's* Opinions. It might likewise be understood of a Man who remaining in the Church, such as it was then, and adhering to the received *Doctrines*, was however of *Wickliff's* Mind as to the *Temporal* and *Spiritual* Jurisdiction of the Clergy. In this last Sense there were more *Lollards* in *England* than can be imagined. This Distinction may serve to account for divers Proceedings of the Parliaments in the Beginning of the XVth Century, which seem to be contrary one to another. Sometimes they were seen to speak and act like *Lollards*, demanding with great Earnestness that the Clergy should be stript of their Riches,

Riches, and sometimes they condemned these same *Lollards* to the Flames, when they considered them in the first Sense I have just mentioned. The *Clergy* knew very well how to make their Advantage of the Ambiguity of that *Term*. When a Man was so hardy as to show that it were to be wished that some Alteration might be made in the Government of the *Church*, they never failed to accuse such a one of being a *Lollard*, and to charge him with all *Wickliff's* Opinions. Hence he became odious of course, because the true *Lollards* maintained *Doctrines* repugnant to the *Faith* of those Days. The first Parliament which petitioned *Henry IV* to seize the *Church-Lands*, could not escape that Imputation which made a deep Impression in the King's Mind. Thus it often happened that People did not dare to espouse openly *Wickliff's* first Opinions, for fear of being taxed with holding the others too, and of being in Danger to suffer for *Tenets* which they held not, as it happened to *John Huss* and *Jerome of Prague*. It was not without Cause that the *Clergy* prosecuted the *Lollards* with such Animosity, since their Principles tended to no less than to strip them of all their Prerogatives. At this very Day the *Church of England*, though embracing *Wickliff's* Opinions with respect to the *Articles of Faith*, cannot forbear expressing very little Esteem for that *Doctor*, because he has combated the *Hierarchy* which she has thought proper to retain.

The *Lollards* were persecuted sometimes more, sometimes less, according to the Temper of the Kings, the Archbishops, and the rest of the Prelates, but especially according to the Circumstances of Affairs. In general, the Beginning of the XVth Century was much worse for them than the Middle or the End. The Reason is evident. For as their Number continually increased, their Enemies found much less Countenance, and they themselves more Protection. In the Beginning of the XVth Century, which was the worst Time of all for them, there were however but very few burnt, for which three principal Reasons

may be given. First, as the *Statutes* did not enact that all in general should be burnt, who held the *Tenets* of *Wickliff*, but only such as preached or taught them publickly, the Number of the Guilty was not very great. These *Statutes* were not observed after the manner of the *Inquisition*, but according to the *Rights* and *Privileges* of the *English* Nation. In the next Place, the Idea which the *Clergy* were pleased to give of the *Lollards* was, that they entirely subverted *Religion*. But oftentimes when the Parties accused as such were examined, it appeared that they believed only that the *Pope* and *Clergy* abused their Power too much, the which was the general Opinion of the Kingdom. In the last Place, it fell out sometimes that the Judges themselves were of this *Seet*. The which gave rise to the *Statute* in the Reign of *Henry V*, whereby all Magistrates were obliged, upon Admittance into their Office, to swear that they would see the Laws against the *Lollards* put in Execution. But I do not know whether that *Statute* was punctually observed. If we may believe *Walsingham the Monk*, the Judges and several Bishops themselves were very remiss in prosecuting the *Lollards*. This he ascribes to the general Corruption which reigned in *England*. But this Corruption was nothing else but the Inclination the *English* had for *Wickliff's* Opinions; or at least their Scruples to put People to Death on the Score of *Religion*. The most remarkable thing which passed in *England* with regard to the *Lollards*, is the Tryal and Punishment of Sir *John Oldcastle*, otherwise called the Lord *Cobham*, of which I have given an Account in the Reign of *Henry V*. We must turn now to another Subject, namely, the Contests which *England* had with the Court of *Rome* in the XVth Century.

Disputes
between
England
and the
Popes.

In spite of all the Complaints which the *English* had frequently carried to the Court of *Rome*, about her continual Inroachments, and in spite of the Precautions which several Parliaments had taken to screen themselves from her Usurpations, the Popes did not
abate

abate an Inch of their Pretensions. The *Acts of Parliament* were to them but like *Cannon without Ball*, which made a Noise without any Effect. Upon every Occasion that offered, they made no Scruple to act contrary to these *Statutes*, as if there had been no such Thing; and to assert their *Apostolick Power* without troubling themselves whether they prejudiced the King or his Subjects. The Parliament, willing to remedy the Abuses which arose from the continual Dispensations granted by the *Pope* without hearing the Cause, passed an *Act* that *All Persons who purchased or executed any Bulls to be discharged from the Payment of Tyth, should incur the Penalties contained in the Statute of Provisors*. It was enacted by another *Statute* passed at the same Time, that if *any Person should procure a Provision to be exempt of the Jurisdiction of the Bishops, he should incur the same Penalties*. These *Acts* being made chiefly with a View to the Monks, were not capable of producing the intended Effect; because the *Pope*, by the *Fulness* of his *Apostolick Authority*, exempted the *Monks* from the Observance of these *Parliamentary Statutes*. The Bishops, whom this Affair chiefly concerned, not daring to dispute the Power which the *Pope* assumed, it was the Parliament's Business to stand up for their Cause as well as their own. To that Purpose the *Statutes* upon this Subject were revived, and a *Clause* added, prohibiting the *Monks* in particular to purchase or execute any such Exemptions, upon the Penalty comprised in the *Statute of Præmunire*.

The *Statute of Præmunire*, which I have mentioned upon several Occasions, was a terrible *Fence* against the Incroachments of the Court of *Rome*. It is true that it did not fall upon the *Pope* directly, since the Parliament had no Power over him. But as it hindered the *English* from applying to the Court of *Rome* for things contrary to the *Prerogatives* of the Crown, and the Laws of the Realm, it abridged the *Pope* of a good Part of the Advantages which he pretended to by his *Apostolick Power*. It will seem
strange

strange perhaps that the Popes should be silent when this *Statute* was passed, and a good while after. But it is easy to find out the Reason. The *Schism* which began in 1378. and lasted till 1409, hindered them from bestirring themselves. The Popes which *England* acknowledged took care to give no cause of Offence at such a Juncture. It is true, there was an Interval of some Years, during which *Alexander V.* and *John XXIII.* might have made some Attempt upon that Law. But *Alexander* was Pope but a very little while, and *John* was taken up with Matters which in his Opinion were of more Importance. *Martin V.* considered not this Business with the same Indifference. In 1426. he writ a thundering Letter to *Chicheley* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, upbraiding him for his Remissness in this Particular, and enjoining him to exert his utmost to get the *Statute* repealed. *Henry VI.* who was then on the Throne, not being above five Years old, the Pope thought it a proper Time to compass his Ends. It will not be unacceptable perhaps to insert Part of this *Letter* which shows what the Pope's Thoughts were of the pretended Privileges of his *See*.

M A R T I N,

SERVANT of the SERVANTS of GOD,

To his Reverend Brother, the Archbishop of
CANTERBURY, Greeting and Apostolical
Benediction.

Martin
V's Letter
to the
Archbi-
shop of
Canterbu-
ry.

“ H A D you considered what a strict Account
“ you must give to Almighty God for the
“ Flock committed to your Care : Had you called to
“ mind the Obligations of your Office, and how much
“ you

“ you are bound to maintain the Rights and Honour
“ of the *Roman Church*, of whom you hold your Digi-
“ nity: Had you, I say, duly recollected these
“ Things, you would never have suffered your self
“ to be seized with such a Lethargy and Negligence.
“ No, you would have done your Duty long since ;
“ you would have endeavoured to set right the Mis-
“ led, and opposed with all your Might those who
“ have sacrilegiously invaded the Privileges granted
“ to the *Church* by our Saviour. Was the Authori-
“ ty of your Character bestowed upon you only to
“ enrich your self, and to give you an Opportunity
“ of seeking your own, and not the Things which are
“ *Jesus Christ's*? If this be your Opinion, you widely
“ mistake the Instructions of our Blessed Saviour,
“ who, when he committed his *Sheep* to St. Peter's
“ Care, only commanded him to feed them; neither
“ received he this Command, till after he had given
“ his Master repeated Assurances of his Love. Is
“ this then your way of showing your Love to
“ *Christ*? Is this feeding and taking care of the *Flock*?
“ Will such Conduct as this discharge your Duty to
“ the *Holy See*? Alas ! your *Flock* is running down a
“ Precipice before your Eyes, and you are regardless
“ of their Danger, and make no attempt to save
“ them: You suffer them to feed in dangerous Pa-
“ stures without warning them, and which is horrible,
“ you seem to put Poison into their Mouths with
“ your own Hands: You stand and see the Wolves
“ scatter and tear them in pieces, and like a *dumb*
“ *Dog* vouchsafe not so much as to bark: You can be-
“ hold the Authority of our Blessed Saviour and the
“ *Holy See* despised and trampled upon, without so much
“ as dropping one word of Remonstrance. One would
“ have thought that you might have whispered your
“ Dislike at least, though you had been so very pru-
“ dent as not to have declared it publickly. Are
“ you not sensible that you must one Day account to
“ the *utmost Farthing* for all Omissions and Prevari-
“ cations of this kind? Don't you think, if any of
“ your

“ your *Flock* are lost by your Neglect, (and alas!
 “ there are a great many) *their Blood will be required*
 “ at your *Hands*? Consider and tremble what Ven-
 “ geance God denounces by his Prophet *Ezekiel*: *See*
 “ of *Man*, I have set thee a *Watchman* unto the *House*
 “ of *Israel*, if thou seest the *Sword* come and dost not blow
 “ the *Trumpet*, and any *Person* is taken away, his *Blood*
 “ will I require at thy *Hands*.

To see this Beginning, would not one think that
 the Point in Hand was some *new Heresy* tending to sub-
 vert the fundamental Principles of Religion? At least,
 one should believe that the Pope had the *Wickliffe*
 in view. But it was no such thing; we shall see in
 the Sequel of the *Letter* what the Matter was; namely,
 the *Statute of Praemunire*, which the Archbishop had
 not got to be repealed, the Pope supposing without
 any ground that it was in that Prelate's Power to cause
 the *Laws* of the *Realm* to be annulled. He went on
 in this Manner:

“ I leave it to your self to consider, what abomi-
 “ nable Violence has been committed upon your *Pro-*
 “ vince. Pray read that *Royal Law*, if there's any
 “ thing in it that is either *Law* or *Royal*. For how
 “ can that be called a *Statute*, which makes void the
 “ *Laws* of God and the *Church*? Or how can it de-
 “ serve the Name of *Royal*, when it destroys the an-
 “ tient Customs of the *Realm*? When it is so con-
 “ trary to these Words of *Scripture*, *The King loveth*
 “ *Judgment*? Tell me then, Reverend Brother,
 “ whether you, who are a *Catholick Bishop*, can think
 “ it reasonable such an *Act* as this should be in Force
 “ in a *Christian Country*?

“ In the first Place, under colour of this execrable
 “ *Statute*, the King of *England* reaches at the *Spiri-*
 “ *tual Jurisdiction*, [and governs so absolutely in *E-*
 “ *clesiastical Matters*, as if our Saviour had made him
 “ his *Vicar*. He makes *Laws* for the *Church* and
 “ and *Clergy*. In short, he enjoins so many things a-
 “ bout *Clerks*, *Benefices*, and the Concerns of the
 “ *Hierarchy*, that one would think the *Keys* of the
 “ *Kingdom*

“ *Kingdom of Heaven* were put into his Hands, and
 “ the Superintendency of these Affairs had been in-
 “ trusted with him and not with *St. Peter*.

“ Besides these hideous Usurpations, he has enac-
 “ ted several Penalties against the *Clergy*. Such a
 “ Rigour as this is the more unjustifiable, that the
 “ *English* Government does not treat *Turks* and *Jews*
 “ with so much Severity. People of all Nations and
 “ Persuasions have the Liberty of coming into *Eng-*
 “ *land*. Only those who have *Cures* bestowed upon
 “ them by the *Vicar of Jesus Christ* are excluded.
 “ Only those, I say, are banished, seized, impriso-
 “ ned, stripped of their Fortunes. If any Person,
 “ charged with the Execution of the *Mandates* and
 “ *Censures* of the *Holy See*, happens to set Foot on
 “ *English* Ground, and proceed in the Business of his
 “ Commission, he is treated like an Enemy, thrown
 “ out of the King’s Protection, and exposed more-
 “ over to still greater Hardships. Was ever such
 “ Iniquity as this passed into a Law? Pray consider
 “ whether such *Statutes* as these are for the Honour
 “ of the Kingdom; and whether it becomes you to
 “ be silent under all this Outrage. Is this an In-
 “ stance of filial Obedience? Is this the *English* Peo-
 “ ple’s way of shewing their Regards to their *Mother*
 “ *Church* and the *Holy See*? Can that be called a *Ca-*
 “ *tholick* Kingdom where such profane Laws are prac-
 “ tised, where Application to *Christ’s Vicar* is pro-
 “ hibited, where *St. Peter’s* Successor is not allowed
 “ to execute our *Saviour’s* Commission? *Christ* said to
 “ *St. Peter*, and in him to his Successors, *Feed my*
 “ *Sheep*. But this *Statute* will not allow them to do
 “ so, but transfers that Office upon the King, and
 “ pretends in several Cases to give him *Apostolical* Au-
 “ thority. *Christ* built his *Church* upon *St. Peter*;
 “ but this *Act* of Parliament hinders the Effect of
 “ this Disposition, not permitting *St. Peter’s See* to
 “ proceed in the Functions of the Government of
 “ the *Church*, or to make Provisions suitable to her
 “ Necessities. Our Lord has ordered, that what-

“ ever his High-Priest *shall bind or loose in Earth, shall*
 “ *be bound or loosed in Heaven*: but this *Statute* runs
 “ directly counter to the divine Command. For if
 “ the immediate Representative of our Saviour thinks
 “ fit to delegate any Priest to execute the *Power of*
 “ *the Keys*, contrary to the Intent of the *Statute*, he
 “ is refused Admittance, forced out of the Kingdom,
 “ stript of his Effects, and made liable to farther Pe-
 “ nalties. If any *Discipline*, if any *Apostolick Cen-*
 “ *sure* appear against this Usage, it is punished as a
 “ capital Offence.

“ And what does your *Prudence* think of all this?
 “ Is this a *Catholick Statute*? Can it be suffered with-
 “ out Dishonour to our Saviour, without a Breach
 “ upon the Laws of the *Gospel*, and the Ruin of Peo-
 “ ple’s Souls? Why therefore did you not *cry aloud*?
 “ Why did you not lift up your Voice like a *Trumpet*?
 “ show your People their Transgression, and the House of
 “ Jacob their Sins, that their Blood may not be required
 “ at your Hands? If all Persons who have the Cure of
 “ Souls are bound to this Duty, how much more are
 “ you, who have both the Priests and People com-
 “ mitted to your Care by the *Holy See*, by whose Fa-
 “ vour you enjoy the Privilege of *Primate* and *Le-*
 “ *gate* for the *Church of England*, and have the Ho-
 “ nour of being Successor to that glorious Martyr
 “ St. Thomas, who to remove the Oppression of such
 “ *Statutes* as this, scrupled not to sacrifice himself for
 “ the Interest of the *Church*.

“ These Things considered, you, who ought to
 “ have set up the *Church’s* Standard, been most for-
 “ ward in the Defence of *Religion*, and animated your
 “ Fellow Bishops to a noble Contest, are the first
 “ that turn your Back and decline the Service. Thus,
 “ either by your great Cowardice, or as it is gene-
 “ rally believed, by your downright Prevarication,
 “ you discourage those who offer to make a Stand.
 “ If therefore the *Church* complain of your Conduct;
 “ if the whole be laid to your Charge, be not sur-
 “ prized but troubled at the Imputation. Let this
 “ Reproach

Reproach serve to put you upon reforming your Conduct; and make you boldly perform the Duties of your Office; which, were you but inclined to make the most of your Power, would be no difficult Task. Exert therefore your Character among the *Laity*; inform their Understandings in this Point; and endeavour to set them right again. Show them what a Snare this *Statute* will prove, and how much Guilt it will draw upon their Consciences. Let your Admonitions be pressed home, and then *the crooked will be made streight, and the rough ways smooth*".

After this long Reprimand, the Pope continues to tell the Archbishop, that he thought himself bound in Conscience to deal thus plainly with him. Then he charges him upon Pain of *Excommunication* to go immediately and make what Interest he could with the *Privy-Council* for the repealing the *Statute of Præmunire*; to apply to both *Houses* of Parliament for the same Purpose, and to let them know that all those who obeyed that *Statute* were under *Excommunication*. Moreover, he orders him to enjoin all the *Clergy* to preach publickly and every where the same Doctrine, to take with him two grave Persons to attest his Diligence, and to certify him of the Result of the Matter.

If any one has a mind to know what made *Martin V.* so very angry with *Chicheley*, who had no hand in the *Statute of Præmunire*, passed long before he was Archbishop, and who had not the Power to get it repealed; the Reason is this: *Chicheley* had opposed with all his Might the *Papal Exemptions*. He had dissuaded *Henry V.* from consenting that *Henry Beaufort* his Uncle should be made a *Cardinal Legate a latere* for Life, and hold the Bishoprick of *Winchester* in *Commendam*. Moreover, he had said publickly that all the Pope's Proceedings tended only to drain *England* continually.

*Reasons of
the Pope's
Conduct.*

The Archbishop being willing to justify himself, did it not to the Pope's Satisfaction. On the contrary, he drew upon himself a still more thundering Letter than the former, and after that a Third directed to the two Archbishops, wherein to mortify *Canterbury*, *York* is named first. *Chicheley* fearing the Pope's Threats, got some Bishops to write in his behalf: but nothing was able to pacify him. At length he sent him a Letter himself, telling him, he heard by common Report that *his Holiness* had proceeded to a Sentence against him, which had never happened to any Archbishop of *Canterbury* since the Days of *St. Augustin*. That however, he was not certain of the Thing, because he was commanded by the King to bring all the Instruments he had received from *Rome* with the *Seals* whole, and lodge them in the *Paper-Office* till the Parliament fate.

Mean while *Martin V.* resolving to push his Point, writ to the King and Parliament in a higher Strain than any Pope had ever done before. He admonishes, or rather commands them to repeal the *Statute of Præmunire*, otherwise he assures them they cannot be saved.

At length the Archbishop seeing the Pope obstinately bent upon his Purpose, and not daring to contradict him any longer, went in Company with several other Bishops to the *House of Commons*, where he made a long Speech, the Drift of which was to persuade the *House* to repeal the *Statute*, putting them in mind of the Danger of an *Interdict* upon the whole Kingdom. But neither his Arguments nor his Threats were able to bring the *Commons* to repeal the *Act*, or to make the least *Amendments*. On the contrary, they addressed the King to take the Archbishop into his Protection, and to write to the Pope in his behalf.

Pope *Martin's* Letter and his extraordinary Endeavours to get the *Statutes of Præmunire* repealed, afford Matter for three Remarks, upon this Subject. The first is, that this Letter shows to a Demonstration, that the main of Religion was made then

then to consist in the Pope's *Prerogatives*, and the *Clergy's Immunities*. Hence it appears farther, how *averse Martin* was to consent to the least Diminution of his pretended *Rights*, and consequently to a Reformation in the *Head and Members* of the *Church*, demanded with so much Earnestness at the *Council of Constance*, where he was present in Person.

The second Remark is, that at all Times the Popes in their Contests with the several *States of Christendom*, have always had great Advantages. These Advantages consisted in that by the Threats of *Excommunication* and *Interdict*, they pushed Matters so far, that there was need of great Resolution not to suffer one's self to be over-awed and lose some Ground either by way of Accommodation or otherwise. But it this Resolution was Proof against all Attempts, and the Circumstances of Affairs were not favourable to the Court of *Rome*, she had the Power to stop when she pleased, in Expectation of a better Opportunity. They who had the Misfortune to contend with her, always reckoned themselves very well off if they were not worsted, being satisfied if she would but let them live in Peace.

The Third Remark is a Conjecture which I shall leave to the Reader's Judgment. The Thing is this : *Conjecture upon this Matter.* Though *Henry VI* was then but five Years old, and though his *Minority* seemed to countenance the Pope's Design, yet it is certain that *England* had never been in a more prosperous Condition. The *English* were quiet and pleased with the Government, and the Victories of *Crevant* and *Verneuil* had put their Affairs in *France* upon a very good Foot. On the other Side, the Affairs of *Charles VII* were in such Disorder that there was no likelihood of their being ever restored. And therefore *Martin V* could not deem it a proper Time for him. Besides, the King's two Uncles were not of a Temper to suffer the *Prerogatives Royal*, and the People's Rights to be trampled upon, at a Time when their Affairs were in so flourishing a Condition. It is therefore something probable that *Martin*,

tin, who was much more inclined to *France* than *England*, made all that Noise then, on purpose to stir up Troubles in *England*, which would be of Service to King *Charles*, and give him Time to breathe. If the Archbishop had punctually obeyed him, and if the Clergy had every where preached against the *Statute of Præmunire*, pursuant to the Pope's express Orders, the Parliament would have been forced to stand by their *Act*, and to punish the Clergy's Presumption. Then the Pope would have had a Pretence to put the Kingdom under an *Interdict*, the which would have very much embroiled the Affairs of the *English* in *France*. But *Chicheley's* Prudence prevented the Mischiefs which might have sprung from *Martin's* haughty Proceedings. In short, *Martin* perceiving that he was supported neither by the King's Council, nor by the Clergy nor the People, let the Business drop, not thinking proper to expose his Authority any farther. This Conjecture is built upon *Martin's* showing himself all along very partial to *France*, either out of Inclination, or because indeed it was not for the Interest of the Court of *Rome* that *France* should be subject to *England*.

Before I leave the *Statute of Præmunire*, it will not be improper to observe, that this *Act* had two principal Clauses. The First, which contained the *Statute of Provisors* made in the Reign of *Edward I*, prohibited the soliciting and procuring of *Benefices* from the Court of *Rome* by way of *Provision*, contrary to the Rights of the Crown and the Patrons. The Second prohibited the carrying to the Court of *Rome*, or *elsewhere*, Causes which belong to the King's Courts. The Clergy complained that by these Words, *or elsewhere*, the King's Judges pretended to abridge the *Ecclesiastical Courts* of numberless Causes which they had the Cognizance of before. They maintained that these Words, *or elsewhere*, inserted in the *Act*, had no manner of Relation to the *Ecclesiastical Courts*, but only to the several Places where the Pope's Court might be besides at *Rome*: That nevertheless the Judges understood them in the first Sense, and that if there

was

was in a Process the least Point belonging to the Royal Jurisdiction, they took Occasion from these two Words, to remove it from the Cognizance of the Ecclesiastical Court, as well as from the Court of Rome. In 1439 the Convocation complained to the King of the Explanation which the Lay Judges gave to these Terms, pretending it was contrary to the Intent of the Law, for several Reasons which they alledged in their Address. At that Time the Clergy had no Answer, or if they had it was not to their Mind. But in the Reign of Edward IV, they obtained a Charter of the King, prohibiting his Judges to have any Thing to do with criminal Matters where the Clergy were concerned. I do not know whether Edward granted this Charter out of Policy, to gain the Clergy's Good-Will, or whether he was convinced that the Words, *or elsewhere*, were explained contrary to the Intent of the Parliament.

Besides the Contests which the Statute of *Præmunire* Other Contests be- caused between England and the Court of Rome, there were some others which I shall but just touch upon. tween the Parliament and Pope. In 1403 in the Reign of Henry IV, the Parliament passed an Act, forbidding all Persons that should have Provision of any Benefice, to pay into the Apostolick Chamber more than was paid in old Time. The Penalty for those that acted the contrary was, that they should forfeit to the King the same Sum they paid the Pope. The Occasion of this Statute was a Grievance introduced some Time since by the Court of Rome: Which was, that no Person should have Provision of any Benefice that was void, till he had compounded with the Apostolick Chamber, as well for the First-Fruits as for other lesser Services in that Court, and had paid beforehand the Sum agreed upon.

But the greatest Dispute between England and the Popes was upon the Score of the Collation of the Bishopricks. Though the Popes, when first the Anglo-Saxons were converted, had sent Italian or other foreign Bishops into England, it is certain that towards the

the latter End of the *Saxon-Monarchy*, the Bishops were chosen by the *Chapters*. The same Privilege was continued to them after the *Norman Conquest*, and confirmed by King *John's Charter*. Mean while the Popes having gradually enlarged their Authority, assumed the Power of bestowing Archbishopricks and Bishopricks, by way of *Provision*, sometimes on one, sometimes on another Pretence. This is what I have had frequent Occasion to Remark in this History. They would fain have established this Rule at once, that the Disposal of all the Bishopricks belonged to them by *Divine Right*; but as they found it something difficult, they bethought themselves of another Expedient. And that was, to get Possession by Degrees, that they might in Time found a Right upon Precedent. Thus being content at first with maintaining that upon certain Occasions, they had a Power to fill the vacant *Sees*, they afterwards framed these Occasions when they pleased. In short, they multiplied them so very fast, that hardly was there a vacant Bishoprick which they did not fill by way of *Provision*. Time and lucky Junctures having confirmed them in this Prerogative, there was no longer any Possibility to wrench it out of their Clutches. Thus the Privilege of the *Chapters* was entirely destroyed.

Arundel Archbishop of *Canterbury* dying in 1413, the Monks of *St. Augustin* chose *Henry Chicheley* then Bishop of *St. David's*. But Pope *John XXIII* voided the Election, declaring that for this Turn he had resolved to dispose of that *See* by way of *Provision*. However to avoid Disputes, he made choice of the same *Chicheley*, by which Means he preserved his pretended Right, without Detriment to the Person elected.

But *Martin V* did not carry it so fair with *England*. He was no sooner seated in the *Papal Chair*, but he boldly disposed of all the *Sees* which became void, without any Regard to the Privilege of the *Chapters*. In two Years only he filled by way of *Provision* thirteen Bishopricks in the Province of *Canterbury*. It

was

was not only with respect to *Sees* that *England* had cause to complain of the Pope, he disposed likewise of all the other Benefices of the Kingdom, without giving himself any Trouble, either about the Right of the Patrons, or the Instruction of the People. The best Preferments were for the most Part conferred upon Foreigners, who understood not a Word of *English*, or resided not in *England*, and sometimes upon Children themselves. For Instance, he made *Prosper Colonna* his Nephew then not above fourteen Years old, Archdeacon of *Canterbury*. *Henry V* who was a Prince of a very high Spirit, sent Ambassadors to *Rome* to complain as well of these as other Grievances. But *Martin V* delayed giving an Answer so long, that the Ambassadors told him, the King their Master had chose to send them to *Rome* purely out of a Deference to the *Holy See*, to which he was not obliged: But that for the future he would use his Prerogative. That in the mean Time they had Instructions to make a solemn Protestation before himself and the *Conclave*, if his Holiness would not comply immediately. I know not what Answer the Pope returned. But not long after *Martin* having translated the Bishop of *Lincoln* to the *See* of *York*, by way of *Provision*, the *Chapter* refused to admit him, and the Pope was forced to revoke his *Bull*.

In 1438 the *University* of *Oxford* complained that *Church-Preferments* were bestowed without any Regard to Learning or Merit. That therefore the *Colleges* were become empty, because there was no need of Study or Learning to qualify a Man for a *Benefice*. Whereupon the *Convocation* to whom this Complaint was addressed, passed a *Canon* that none but *Graduates* in the *University* should be capable of *Benefices*. But this was a weak Fence against the *Papal Power*.

Mean while, tho' the Court of *Rome* made the *Apostolick* Authority sound very high, yet the Popes now and then met with some Mortifications. For Example, in the Reign of *Henry IV* the Parliament ordered

that the *Peter-Pence* should be deposited in the King's Hands till the Schism was closed.

In the Reign of *Henry V* the *Alien Priories* were suppressed without asking the Pope's Consent.

Under *Henry VI*, Pope *Nicholas V* having demanded an extraordinary *Subsidy* of the *Clergy of England* for the Occasions of the *Holy See*, the King forbid the *Clergy* to grant it.

The like Demand made some Years after by one *Vicentini* a *Nuntio*, was bluntly denied by the *Clergy*. They began to stand less in Fear of the *Papal Power*, formerly so dreadful to the whole *Church*, and particularly to *England*. The *Schisms* did the *Pope* irreparable Damage.

During the whole *XVth Century* we don't find that any *National Councils* were held in *England*, - but only *Convocations* of the *Clergy* in the two *Ecclesiastical Provinces* of *Canterbury* and *York*. The *Condemnation* of the *Lollards* was almost the whole *Business* of these *Convocations*. As for *National Synods* they were become useless, since the *Popes* had engrossed the Cognizance of all *Ecclesiastical Matters*. Besides, the least *Appeal* to the *Pope* was enough to made void all the *Canons* of a *Council*. On the other Hand, the *Popes* had managed it so that no *National Synods* could be held without their *License*. Now as in these *Synods*, there was but too frequent *Occasion* to examine into the *Bounds* of the *Papal Authority*, they were grown so odious to the *Court of Rome*, that the use of them was laid aside by *Degrees*. At this very Day, in the *States* which have not admitted of a *Reformation*, you hear no more of *National Councils*, or at least so very rarely, that it is plain the *Popes* do not allow them but with *Regret* and much *Difficulty*. Of this we have seen of late Years a remarkable Instance in *France*, in what passed about the famous *Constitution Unigenitus* of *Clement XI*. King *Lewis XIV*, as *Powerful* and *Formidable* as he was, could never obtain the *Pope's Leave* to call a *National Council* but upon such *Terms* as rendered the Thing impracticable,

ble, though that Monarch's sole Aim in it was to get the *Constitution* approved.

The Article of the eminent Men who flourished in the *Church of England* during this *Century* will not take us up long. The Truth is, there were *Cardinals*, *Archbishops*, *Bishops*, and other *Clergymen* famous enough; but it was on the Score neither of their *Piety* nor *Learning*. The *Posts* they held at Court, their *Embassies*, *Intrigues* of the Cabinet, and the Hand they had in the *Revolutions* in the Court and Kingdom, were the only Things which distinguished them from the rest. *Henry Chicheley* Archbishop of *Canterbury* was one of the best. For which Reason he obtained not the Honour of the *Cardinalate* which was lavishly bestowed upon *Henry Beaufort* Bishop of *Winchester*, upon *Kemp*, *Bourchier*, *Morton*, who were less worthy of it than him, if true Merit had been regarded. But *Chicheley* wanted one indispensable Quality of a *Cardinal*, that is, to be entirely devoted to the *Holy See*.

If there were any learned Men besides, they were so with respect to the Time they lived in, when true *Learning* was not much in vogue. And therefore it would be a very needless Thing to speak of each in particular, seeing their Fame hardly out-lived them. Some were noted for their great Animosity against the *Lollards*, and amongst the rest *Arundel* Archbishop of *Canterbury*. This Prelate in his *Funeral Sermon* of *Ann of Luxemburgh*, *Richard the Second's* Queen, highly commends her for spending her Time in reading the *Holy Scriptures* in the vulgar Tongue. And yet some Years after, in the Reign of *Henry IV*, he condemned in *Convocation* the Translation of the *Bible* as a very pernicious Thing *.

* As there was a Scarcity of Persons eminent in other Parts of Learning in this rude and illiterate *Century*, so was there likewise of Historians. The most noted were :

Sir John Froissard, who wrote a General History of the Affairs of *France*, *Spain*, &c. but chiefly of *England*. He was a *Frenchman* born, but was brought up in his Youth in the Court of *Edward*.

ward III, and familiarly conversant in that of Richard II. He wrote in his own Tongue, which was then the Court Language of England. In the *English* Edition published by Sir John Bourchier at the Command of Henry VIII, the Mistakes that had crept into the *French* Copies are corrected. His Account of Matters seems to be plain and honest; and perhaps none gives a better of the Affairs of Edward III and Richard II. *Rapin* has made good use of him.

Thomas Walsingham a *Benedictine* Monk of *St. Albans*. His *Historia Brevis* [or short History] begins at the Conclusion of *Henry III's* Reign, where *Matthew Paris* ended his. The Account he gives is well enough, and we are indebted to him for many Things not taken notice of by any other Writer of those Times. His *Ypodigma Neustria* (as he calls it) gives an Account of *Normandy* from the Time it came first into the Hands of *Rollo* and his *Danes*, down to the sixth Year of *Henry V*, wherein the Readers will find many Occurrences not elsewhere to be met with. Both these Works were published by *Arch. Parker* 1574.

John Harding comes next, a Northern *Englishman* and an inveterate Enemy to the *Scots*. He collected whatever might tend to the Proof of that ancient *Vassalage* of *Scotland* to the Crown of *England*, and hearing of an old *Record* in that Kingdom which put the Matter past Dispute, he went in Disguise, and with much ado brought it away, and showed it to *Henry V*, *Henry VI*, and *Edward IV*. To the last of these he dedicated his two Books of *Chronicles* in *English Rhime*, printed at *London* 1543.

William Caxton was a menial Servant for thirty Years together, to *Margaret* Dutchess of *Burgundy* (Sister to *Edward IV*) in *Flanders*. Finding, as he says, after his return to *England* an imperfect History, he continued it in *English* under the *Latin* Title of *Frustas Temporum*. It begins with the first Inhabiting of this Island, and ends (the last Year of *Edward IV*) 1483. Folio, printed 1515.

John Ross or *Ross*, travelled over the greatest Part of *England*, and having made large Collections out of the *Libraries* where he came, he writ the History of our Kings, which is still extant in M. S. in the *Cottonian* Library. He died in 1491.

The End of VOL. VI.

Addi-



Additional Notes and Amendments communicated by the Reverend W. S. whilst the Translator was Abroad.

VOL. IV.

PAGE 7. Line 37. *Rudland* *.

* It should be *Rudhlan* in *Flintshire*. This Castle was built by *Llewellyn ap Iestyn*, and first taken from the *Welsh* by *Robert de Rudhlan*, Nephew of *Hugh* Earl of *Chester*. The Castle therefore was not built but repaired by *Edward I.* *Offa* King of *Mercia* and *Meredyth* King of *Dyfed* died in the Battle fought at *Rudhlan* in the Year 794. *Camb. in Flint.*

P. 113. l. 14. *Chester* *.

* There was no Bishop of *Chester* at that Time. This See was translated after the Conquest from *Lichfield* hither. After that it was transferred to *Coventry*, and from thence by *Henry VIII* to the antient Seat again. So that the Person here meant was *Walter de Langton* Bishop of *Lichfield* and *Coventry*, in whose Diocese *Chester* was.

P. 275. l. 9. *Church-Yard* *.

* It seems in it self improbable that 50,000 Persons should be buried in one Year in the same *Church-Yard*, and what proves it false is, that there was but one *Cistercian* Abbey in *London*, viz. *St. Mary de Grace* near the Tower, founded by this King, but not till 1352. *Tanners Hist. Mon. p. 139.*

P. 291. the Author's Note at the Bottom of the Page [(a) Branch of *Evreux*,] r. Branch of *Eu*. The Counts of *Eu* were descended from *Robert* Count d' *Artois* younger Son of *Louis VIII*. The Count d' *Eu* was one of the Hostages, p. 299.

P. 396. l. 1. of *London* *.

* He was a Merchant of *Kingston upon Hull*, of which Place his Father *William de la Pole* was the first Mayor. *Dugdale.*

P. 399, add to the Note at the Bottom of the Page,

The Temporalities of *Norwich-Bishoprick* were restored October 23, 1385. *Rym. VII. 479.*

P. 418. l. 30. Bishop of *Chichester* *.

* *Thomas Rushoote* was deprived and succeeded by *Richard Mitford*, May 7. 1389.

P. 430. l. 35. severest Punishment *.

* That Tory Bishop of Exeter was *Edmund Stafford* consecrated 1395, and died 1419.

P. 463. l. 7. See of Chester *.

* See of *Lichfield* and *Coventry*, his Name was *John Bokyngham*. *Chester* was then in the Diocese of *Lichfield*.

P. 474. l. 23. *Richard de Peckham* *.

* *Richard Mephams*. 'Tis supposed that he died at the Council of *Lyons*.

P. 478. l. 3. Cardinal d'Offa *.

* Pope *John XXII* was a Shoemaker's Son of *Cabors* in *France*, and probably instead of *Cardinal d'Offa*, he should be styled Cardinal of *Cabors*. But perhaps d'Offa.

P. 481. l. 15. *Fitz-Ralph* *.

* He was installed *Dean* of *Lichfield*, *April* 20th 1337, and translated to *Armagh*, 1397. He died 1360.

VOL. V.

PAGE 25. l. 18. his Life *.

* *Thomas Marks* Bishop of *Carlisle* lived after his Deprivation several Years. *Goodwin*, p. 679.

P. 82. l. 30. Prison *.

* The Judge who committed the Prince was *Sir William Gessaign* of *Harwood-Castle*, *Yorkshire*. *Camb.*

P. 227. l. 22. his Character *.

* He was a great General, as appears by his Defense of *Harfleur*, p. 141.

P. 262. He took the Great Seal *.

* But 'tis said p. 226. that the Parliament made the Bishop of *Durham* *Thomas Langley* Chancellor, and not the Bishop of *Winchester*.

P. 369. Thirty Years *.

* He was Archbishop but 29 Years. He died *April* 12th 1443. His Successor *John Stafford* was a Bastard, as were in the next Century, *Tenfall*, *Gardiner* and *Bona*.

P. 347. l. 22. December *.

* Cardinal *Kemp* died *March* 22d 1457.

V O L. VI.

PAGE 27. Line 22. *John Kennet* *.

* His Name was *Kennedy*, Ancestor of the Earl's of *Cassides*; but he was not the sole Regent at that Time.

P. 97. Earl of *Stafford* *.

* In the *Genealogical Table* no notice is taken of *Henry Earl of Stafford* being *Margaret's* Husband.

P. 129, &c. * Concerning the Death of the Duke of *Clarence*, *Lapin* cites *Biondi*, &c. but does not cite *Art. Pub.* 'Tis most probable that the Eight Articles against the Duke (p. 132.) were not brought into Parliament till after his Death. *Dugdale* in his *Baronage* says so, p. 164. Whoever reads the great Hurry the Duke's Enemies were in to take him off, and the general Indignation of the People against the King as a Fratricide, must be of *Dugdale's* Opinion, that the Duke was not condemned and attainted in Parliament till after his Death.

P. 132. l. 39. of *Malmsey Wine* *.

* A vulgar Error, that it was done at the Duke's own Request. *Whitlock* speaks more properly: *He was drowned in a Burt of Malmsey (as Men suppose) not without the King's Knowledge.*

P. 151, l. 17. *Elizabeth Lucy* *.

* In the Life of *Monk Duke of Albermarle*, there is a Genealogical Table, which shows him to be descended from *Edward IV.* and *Elizabeth Lucy*, whose Daughter one of his Ancestors had married.

P. 194. l. 30. mean Parentage *.

* Bishop *Moreton* was not of mean Parentage. He was Son of *Richard Moreton*, a Gentleman of *Bere in Dorsetshire*; whose Grandfather was *Robert Moreton of Moreton in Nottinghamshire* of a very antient Family.

N. B. The Notes and Amendments already sent by the same Hand upon the rest of the Volumes, will be inserted in their proper Places; and the useful Remarks he has promised to communicate upon the Whole, will be printed in an Appendix to the last Volume: Wherein, to make the Work the more complete, will be added many other Notes and Observations, and any Mistakes which may have happened will be corrected, particularly in the Two Volumes that were published during the Translator's Absence from the Press.

ERRATA in VOL. VI.

PAGE 4. Line 35. Saxton read *Caxton*. P. 8 and 9. Crichton
r. *Crichton*. P. 14. l. 28. to treat r. *to break*. P. 17. l. 20. in-
flicted r. *afflicted*. P. 31. l. 10. Lou scales r. *Lord Scales*. P. 51. l. 10.
after *Lodging*, instead of a . put a ,. P. 67. l. 13. Edward's r. *Ed-
ward*. P. 97. l. penultima, dele *and*. P. 104. l. 17. sent r. *so sent*.
P. 128. l. 4. after Maria put a ,. P. 135. l. 17. Countenance r. *Con-
tinuance*. P. 143. l. 30. James's r. *James*. P. 155. l. 7. their r.
her. Ibid. l. 8. Person r. *Persons*. P. 174. l. 19. the r. *they*. P. 195.
l. 11. new r. *knew*. P. 200. l. 17. was r. *were*. P. 218. l. 28. af-
ter Ashton r. *after that Ashton*. P. 221. l. 31. James IV. r. *James
III*. P. 248. l. 15. happened r. *that happened*. P. 250. l. 17.
Judged r. *adjudged*. P. 312. l. 14. has r. *had*. P. 313. l. 27. re-
cept r. *to accept*. P. 315. l. 25. their r. *there*. P. 316. l. 16. a right
r. *rightly of*. P. 317. l. 34. Countries r. *Counties*. P. 318. l. 29.
taken r. *was taken*. P. 223. l. 16. the Lord r. *the Lords*. P. 324.
l. 8. maturely r. *mutually*. P. 330. l. 38. to Condition r. *no Condi-
tion*. P. 331. l. 38. bear r. *bare*. P. 386. l. 17. unreasonable r.
unseasonable. P. 390. l. 13. after Account dele the. and put a ,.
P. 399. l. 1. Ambassadors r. *Ambassador*. P. 424. l. 33. Elizabeth
r. *Catherine*.

T H E I N D E X.

N. B. K. stands for King, *D.* for Duke, *E.* for Earl, *K.* for Kingdom, the Letter (*n.*) before the Number of the Page means the Note at the Bottom of the Page.

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